Just Published,

Piscopal Authority, with the Duty both of Clergy and Laity, consider'd, in a Sermon Preach'd at Leicester, October 2. 1707. at the Visitation of the Reverend Mr. John Rogers, Arch-Deacon of Leicester; by John Stilsman, B.D. Rector of East Farndon, and Shepey Magna: Publish'd at the desire of the Clergy. Printed for W. Taylor, at the Ship in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Printed for W. T.ARR OR. at the Separa

St. Pan's Coycheyard,

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Thorough Examination OF THE FALSE PRINCIPLES

AND

FALLACIOUS ARGUMENTS,
Advanc'd against the

Christian Church, Priest-hood, and Religion:

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In a late pernicious Book, ironically Intituled,
The Rights of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH
Afferted, &c.

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DIALOGUE between Demas and Hierarcha.

Humbly Offered to the Consideration of the Nobility and Gentry of ENGLAND.

BY

SAMUEL HILL, Rector of Killmington, and Arch-Deacon of Wells.

PSAL. XII. viii.

The wicked walk about on every side, when the vilest of the sons of men are exalted.

LONDON:
Printed for W. TAYLOR, at the Ship in
St. Paul's Church-yard, 1708.

MARKA SALA SALA Her Alexandra Examination AND TO THE OWNER OF THE PROPERTY OF MCGNATURE MARKET TO SOLIT HAMESTA COLUMN TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE STATE Walter to Carenas I to choradity ? STAPPENERS RESTORED AND AUGUST BEI Told of the second of the or discount of the second of the sign of the sylladided by sever the bearing exe Carrier of 1817 reput visit where with the state of the balance of the state o and the second of the second section is the second of her way farmer this summer than ign of a sum as only on the end of the LANGE AND AND AND THE SECTION. THE RESERVE AND THE PARTY OF TH Charles of the second second wellinger a line was trained to the discontinue to the host. in the single will the distribution of the same The second secon

A Humble Address to the Nobibility and Gentry of ENG-LAND.

He late great Judgments of God upon the Nation have given ferit ous Men a fad occasion to reflect upon the crying Sins, which have provoked, Him to scourge us with such severe Strokes. The unnatural Vices, and direful Blasphemies of the English, both at home, and abroad, as they are matter of reproach to our Country, and an aftonishment to all good Men, so they are in the first place to be assigned, as the next Causes of these signal marks of Divine displeasure. But these Causes are but the effects of others, which lie more remote from common view, and all that fee the one, do not fo eafily differn the other; I mean the curfed Principles, from which those monstrous Practifes flow: These are only to be found in the wicked Books, which of late are suffered to go abroad, to the dishonour of Almighty God, the disgrace of the English name, and the apparent

parent danger of Religion, as well as of the Church. Of many of these Books Published among us, an Account hath been given in an excellent Sheet, intituled, The Ax laid to the Root of Christianity; to which I refer the Reader. But among them all, none hath been written with mure Industry, or more Art and Malice, than that falfely, Intituled, The Rights of the Christian Church: In which the Author in most infolent manner, Writes of Christian Priests as of Villains, and Impostors by their Profession; and of the Christian Priesthood, as if it were a publick Cheat, and Imposition upon the Christian part of Mankind; not forbearing to vilify the Holy Eucharift, the Confectation of which he calls Conjuration, and and speaks of the Ministers of it in most feurrilous manner, as of the Spiritual Cooks of the Heavenly Food, and of the Sacramental Cup, as a Grace-Cup; and to strike the Priests Office, if he could, dead, he Ridicules, as plainly as he durit, the Offices of Ordination and Confectation, and derives the Ecclesiastical Power, tho it be the fame in all Places, from the Civil Powers which are different, afferting also that Priests assume the Power which they exercife over the People, particularly that

of Binding and Loofing, which he calls, the Power of Damning and Saving; and that according to this pretended Power,

God is only their Executioner wig need

By the Civil and Occonomical Principles of his Book, the Obedience of Subjects, and Duty of Children and Servants, is Arbitrary and Precarious; nor can Kingdoms, and Families, better fublist by them, than the Church upon his other Principles, and yet no publick notice hath hitherto been taken of this, or any other of the like Books; no enquiry made by Anthority after the Authors, Venders, and Dispersers of them; no publick Censures passed upon them in the Civil, or Ecclefiastical Assemblies, but on the contrary, they are Read without controll in all Places, as freely, as if they were Books of necessary Erudition, and wholesom Institution, for all forts of People, tho' they would not be fuffered to be Published or Sold in any other Country reformed, or unreformed, in the Christian World. Such Liberties it seems are referved for the Honour of the Englifb Church and Nation: But let others boast of this freedom, and call it by what fine names they please, I must say, I think the Toleration of fuch poyfonous Books,

Books, and their Principles, may, without rashness, or mistaken Zeal, be looked upon as a National Crime, for which God may still justly punish the Nation, and visit ours above all other Churches and Countries, for being fo luke-warm, and fuffering wicked Writers to teach and seduce his Servants, by Principles as pernicious to their Souls, as deadly Poyion would be to their Bodies, and yet like Gallio, care for none of these things. For when the Publick will not animadvert upon such execrable Writings, God, according to a Principle recelved among all People, as well as Jews and Chriftians, will visit the Publick for that finful Neglect, and require of the whole Society that debt of pun thinent, which the Governours of it should exact of fuch particular criminal Members. who prefume to propagate fuch Princi-ples, as directly tend to the Confusion, and Defolution of Church and State. and in particular, to the Destruction of the Catholick-Church, as one Society throughout the World, the Extripation of its one Priefthood, and the Abolition of the clief relative Duries from Men to Men? 10 dult 10 how. w. Rightin which the too powerful Edon

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It is in vain to hope for a real Reformation of Manners, as long as Books of fuch Principles are permitted to be published among us. The censure of wicked Practifes, without the censure of wicked Principles from which they flow, will not fignify much to make the World better: Without this the English will be as famous for their Vices, as their Valour; and in other Countries, as much as in other Proceedings, it would feem preposterous and absurd, to let alone the Cause, and yet endeavour to take away the Effect. To stop up the Poyfonous Fountains, is the most rational and ready way to dry up the deadly Streams; and to lay the Ax to the Roop of the Tree, is the only fure expedient to prevent the growth of its evil Fruit. But in this Nation we go otherwise to work: We pretend great Zeal in suppressing impious Practices, while we fuffer Books of most impious Principles to go abroad among us: Books which apparently tend to take away the Fear of God, and the Reverence of his Priests, and Sacraments, and the received Principles of Christian Religion out of the minds of Men. Of this fort is the Book of the Rights, which the too powerful Ene-A 3 mies

mies of Revealed Religion among us have combin'd to make as publick as they can in all Places: They fow their Tares every where, while Men, nay while Church-men fleep; but God will punish fins of Omission in the publick, as well as private Persons, among the Clergy as well as the Laity; and let any serious Man of either Body consider, how justly it may provoke Him to visit both, for suffering such a Book to go uncensured about the World, in which, together with the Christian Priesthood, Christ himself, the Author of it, is Crucified asresh, and put to open shame.

Had the Book been Written only against the exterior matters of the Church, I had never concern'd my felf in the Controverfy; but fince not only the rune of the Clergy, but with them the extirpation of Christianity is defign'd by fuch Books, Written with all studied Art and Wit, to pleafe and deceive Gentlemen, and gratify the Genius of a corrupt Age, our Duty to God, and Conscience towards the Souls of Men, especially to those of Power, and Honour, and Quality among us, oblige us to warn them, and do what we can to preferve them from the fnare that is laid for them; For

For Men of fuch Character and Figure, without true Princ ples of Religion, are most subject to temptation, and when once they are over one, they take the largest fraughts of forbidden pleasure, and forn all reitraint from God or Man: When once corrupted, they are not content to be loose themselves, but affect to prescribe mode and fashion to their Vices, to make them splendid and noble, and worthy of imitation; and to compleat all, tho' they feldom are at leifure to fludy themselves any thing that is truly useful or good, yet they are willing to have their Vices defended by Principles, and to Sin forfooth Philosophically, and to that end hire and maintain base and mercenary Souls to frame Systems of Irreligion for 'em, that they may become as Learnedly wicked as they can, and Blaspheme with borrowed Salt and Wit. But how pernicious soever to the Church, and mischievous to the State, these Principles, and the Monsters among Christians, that profess them, may be for a time, yet such is the strength of Truth, and the power of Conscience, that they will get the victory over them at lait, and then they will dwindle, and grow out of fashion, and dye. Nay, the Professor A 4 them

them often themselves grow weary of them, and become dull and flat, and as it were fick, till other new Schemes of Atheism, Deism, and Irreligion are found out for their support and relief. So we have feen Hobs, Spinoza, Blunt, and Toland, &c. with others of a lower Form in Impiety, blaze for a while, and then go out in disesteem and neglect. Wherefore a fresh scene of entertainment was thought feasonable, in a newer set of Antichristian Principles by them, that publish'd my Adversary's late noisy Book. In this performance they hector'd and strutted more than in any other, and boafted long before it was publish'd, that it should be a fatal blow to the Church and Clergy; but the blazing Meteor, what noxious influence fo ever it had for a while, is already decaying, and like those false lights which amused the World before, it will in a short time die into utter darkness and contempt: For God hath not left his Church without those, who can and dare defend his Holy Truths, against these Men of Blasphemy, how or by whomfoever supported; and God in great measure, hath given their labours of Love for his fake, answerable fucces, of part of the feet

But as for this Book in particular, against which I have written, as it was above all others defign'd, and contriv'd like a fnare for the fuperiour Orders of Men among us; fo it really is a reproach unto them: For the Writing of it prefumes upon their ignorance in matters of Religion, and of their inability, or unwillingness to examin his Reasonings and Quotations, and to discern the falseness or corruption of them, just as Mr. Seldon, the professed Enemy of the Church and Clergy, did in his Book of Tythes. Wherefore my Lords and Gentlemen, you have but little reason to be pleased with an Author, who supposes you in general, to be at the best, but Sciolists, and smatterers in Humane or Divine Learning, not able to folve his fallacies, but a fort of Men prepared to be deluded by him, and who will take Wit for found Reason, and Satyr and Sarcasm, for Arguments against the most Sacred Things. Such are the Engines by which this fwaggering false Archymede attempts to shake the whole Earth; as if you cou'd possibly be Ignorant, even to fo thick a darkness, as not to know, that the Power of Christianity Converted from the beginning, the Great-

Greatest, most Learned, most Witty, and most Violent opposers of it in all the Heathen World, and has been reformed and rescued from Popery and Barbarous blindness, by the wonderful Learning and Diligence of the Clergy, who have Reviv'd its Purity, and Vindicated its Truth ever fince the dawn of the Reformation; by Learning, I fay, that these pretenders can't endure to acknowledge, tho' they are not able to refift it in any fair and candid ways of Contention, or before competent and discerning Judges. If therefore you would not make your felves a prey, or a scorn to those wretched fort of Men, it will become you to affert your understandings both as Men and Christians, and your concern for things Divine; you have all the advantages to fearch out Truth, you may have excellent Books, and if you please, truly learned and good Men to affift you in your refearches, and to make them easie, and diverting to you. You will find the delights of Learning charming, and the Truths of Reng on powerful, and it will be your glory an I honour in the Eyes of God and good Anges, as we I as of Men, to fee you apply your leives to fuch TheoTheories, and Studies, in which you will fee, as by a full light, the truth and excellency of that Faith, which we Preach in our Master's Name; and which will enable you, as the state of things now stand, even in your publick Councels, to do God Honour, and Religion more Service, than the Clergy are able to do. Noblemen; or Gentlemen of Learning and Piety, have now a larger sphere of doing good, because it cannot be faid of them, that they are for Religion upon the fcore of the Profits and Revenues which are annexed to the Ministration of it; and we of the Clergy wish you were all truly Learned, and in the highest degree, tho' the Writer of the Rights, and fuch Men invidiously fuggeft, as if we design'd to keep you all in Ignorance, and under pretence of deeper learning in hidden Mysteries, to wrap you up in Implicity, Faith, and Dependance, which is a reproach of as much, if not more folly in you, than of Priest-craft in us, but as equally false and impossible; for throughout all times fince the Reformation, as we have been open and free in discoveries of Truth and Error, so there have not wanted Gentle. men, and those of great Figure and Value,

Value, that have fearch'd into the depths of Christanity, and learnedly justified the Divinity of its Principles against all Opposers. And with us in this Kingdom, these excellent Persons have fo far been from being the objects of the Clergies Envy, or Fear, that they have been their greatest Joy and Glory. "Tis true indeed, some few have Traversed our Originals, as some Preach'd Christ in St. Paul's time, not out of Good will, but Envy; but generally, I believe upon my own observation, it almost every where proves true, that wherefoever there is any Person of Quality truly Learned he is the Clergies Friend and Patron; and altho' his Abilities may far exceed his Neighbours of the Clergy, yet fuch is the candour of Learned Gentlemen, that they never despile us upon the account of our inferiour parts, or attainments, but Honour us for our Office take, for the fake of h.m. who ordained it, and for the great Ends for which it was Ordained by him, to propagate the Holy Doctrines of Christ antity from Age to Age, and Administer the Holy Offices of it unto the end of the Word.

'Tis our Unhappiness and Grief, as well as some Reflection upon you, that thereare too few among you animated with a zealous defire to Study heavenly Learning, for which reason we want your help not only in private, but publick procedures against our Adversaries, not that are sometimes too opposite to the Interest and Advancement of Christian Religion. These things, I humbly think, do need your most serious consideration, and would you put on fuch an Heroick Spirit of Piety, it would foon reform the World, and awaken it out of that careless spirit of drowsy Gallionism, with which the Nation generally feems to be stupify'd, not regarding the Caufe of Religion, which by wicked Principles, and as wicked Practifes proseeding from them, fuffers more than in any other part of the Reformed Christian World. We have therefore a Right as well as Authority from God, to Address in his Name to you, with at warmth fuitable to the Caufe of Christianity, That since you manage the Publick Interest, and that Religion is the chiefest part thereof, and of the Constitution, as well as the Power of God to your Salvation, you wou'd make

make it your earnest study and care to preserve it, and the Honour and Reverence of it, against those that vilify it. and ridicule all that belongs to it. If we of the Clergy, who bear the burthen and heat of the Day in all our Labours and Perfecutions, shou'd be utterly filent, without any Remonstrance in the Cause of the Church, or any Application to you for Remedy, even you your felves wou'd be apt to cenfure us feverely, and too justly for our indifferency herein; tho' when we affert our Holy Mission, and Rights, we are charg'd by these Men with Dememetrianism, who fay that our Church is our Diana, and by our Priest-craft we have our Wealth: Which were it indeed true, we should be a fort of Men fo far from expecting your help, that we should deserve utter extirpation. But we know what and whose Ministers we are, and therefore dare not be filent in the Cause of Christ our Lord against his Enemies; for fuch are these Writers I have spoken of, and therefore suffer us to lift up our Voice like a Trumpet against them, and by that Authority which we derive from our Master! But they blasphemously say we assume, permit

mit us to require, or if that word be too great, to implore your Aid against them, as common Enemies of the Christian Cause. To that end, Let us entreat you feriously to examin the several good Books that are already Written in the Defence of the Christian Religion, and the Principles of the Church Catholick, happily receiv'd here in this Kingdom in the Ecclefiastical part of our Constitution, and particularly the two excellent Books of Dr. Hickes, and Dr. Potter, against the RIGHTS; and if after those, there be any need or use of these Papers, which are defign'd as a Supplemental Appendage to those more excellent Performances, you may, I hope, find fomething that may convince you of the emptiness of this new Plan of Irreligion. You are chiefly concern'd to look into this Cause, and to act therein for the Honour of God, and the true good of the Nation, upon which account we think we have a right to call upon you, to look carefully into the nature and tendencies of these novel and most dangerous Doctrines of Impiety, taking upon you herein the Conscience of just Judges between the Caufe

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Cause of Christ and the Sons of Belial: For the Eyes of the despised Jesus are over you, who is to be your and our common Judge at that day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be revealed, and the greatest, as well as the least, shall be judged, without respect of Perfors, according to his Works.

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PREFACE

TO THE

READER!

A LTHO' at the first Appearance of this Insolent BOOK, I was Invited by a very Eminent, and Reverend Person to write an Answer to it; and altho' some Invidious Strokes at me therein, might have given me just Provocation to Chastise it, as it deserves; yet since he has only Flouted at some Passages of my Municipium Ecclesiasticum, without adventuring as a fair Adversary to oppose any one Principle in that sirst, or in my second larger BOOK, a Written

Written in Defence of the Rights, Liberties, and Authorities of the Christian Church, I laid a side all thoughts of Answering of it, to which also my Melancholick Reflections on the Loosness of the Age, made me averse, having no Heart to Write any thing to Undeceive So many men who have as it were thrown Conscience of Religion, and Laugh at those who are serious Believers of it, and as such have a zeal becoming Christians to Defend its Holy Truths. Indeed, I sometimes looked upon the Nation as lost, and ripe for Divine Vengeance, and thereupon thought it fitter to Retire, and Mourn in fecret for the Evils that threaten the Land, and to Pray for the Preservation of the Faithful in the Day of Visitation, than to Write Books, which I thought would have but little effect in such a Degenerate Age as this. I was therefore willing to leave this Controversy to Men better qualified for it; But when I saw the first Answers to this Antichritian Book, I thought something more necellary, ceffary, and my Thoughts working much upon me, (tho' under a painful Di-stemper) I threw together almost all the Observations which make up this Answer, before those Excellent Treatifes of the Learned Dr. Hickes, and Dr. Potter, came to my Hands; which as they gave me great Comfort, and inspired me with Courage; so I'm sure they are a satisfactory, and uncontestable Defence of our Religion, and Hierarchie. But finding my own Meditations for the most part to have run in different Channels, concerning matters that did not so properly agree with the designs of those Learned Authors, I thought they might serve as a subordinate Supplement, or Appendage to those far Nobler Performances.

Being then thus engaged, 'twill be proper here to give some previous account of these Papers, and the design

of their Publication.

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First, Then having observed, that the Book of the Rights, is a Medley of pretended Principles, Arguments, Histories, Quotations, Declamations, Investives, Invectives, Slanders, and Infults Collected, and Blended together without any regard to Truth or Conscience, I resolved to concern my self. with little else but his Principles and Arguments; because as meer Calumny and Invectives can make little or no Impression on the mind of a calm and confidering Reader; so Histories of corrupter Ages as corruptly allede'd to defame the Righteous with the Sins of Wicked Men, and to charge their Guilt on the Primitive and Divine Constitution, and False Quotations of Orthodox Men, and a few True ones out of Heterodox. Partial, or Mistaken Moderns, are not of that consequence as to require an elaborate Refutation in a vast Volume, filled more with meer Detections of malicious and impertinent Fallhoods, than with Instructions useful to the Understanding of a Conscientious Reader. Besides, such a Chace wou'd rather have tired the Reader than run down the wild Beaft, which is the only thing necessary. For this Junto of Men whose penman Dr. Tindall

Tindall is, value themselves most of all on the Strength they boast is in their Arguments, and the Perspecuity they pretend is in their Maxims, and their Reasonings from them, in which they think themselves Invincible. If therefore they are Resuted in these, all the rest they have Written falls of it self, and they who profess themselves to be Wise, become Apparent Fools.

In Truth therefore I think they should be dealt with in a twofold manner; first in such a Dialogue as was written between Timothy and Philautus, to expose their Grandsire Hobbes to those airy Genius's, who are taken more with Wit than Reason; but with respect to more serious and composed Readers, plain and solid Reason, built on received and undeniable Principles, seems most suitable and necessary, and becoming the Sacred Order, which is therefore the way of Writing I have taken in this Controversal Composure.

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In the framing of which, as I was obliged, for Methods fake, as well as the Reader's Ease and Apprehension. to represent the Senfe of this Author more Compendiously than he has in many places expressed it, so I have done it with all Justice and Sincerity, neither omitting any thing, nor adding any thing to it, that is not in his own Expressions; tho' I believe be may pretend otherwife. I earnestly therefore desire my Reader carefully and justly to Examine his and my Forms of Expression, thro every Part and Chapter of his Book, thereby to fee my Integrity, and not heedlefsly to Believe him, if he should charge me with any Falfifications. For I have reason to think, that these Pai pers will never have a just Reply, such as I have given his; but perhaps a few querulous Cavils, and Reflexions for a Colour, why he thinks them not worthy of a Reply.

This being premised, perhaps it may be of Use to Common Readers to give them a Test whereby to choose

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the best Principles, and Communion, from this Author. For those are certainly the best, which he most of all bates, and endeavours to expose. And further more they may Observe, that, tho'he condemns all Principles of Church-Government in every Sect what soever, and for Popularity Sake inveighs with a seeming Violence and Zeat against that of the Papists, yet this is only the more Artfully to Colour over his Spitefullest Dengns against those, whom for their Catholick Principles and Zeal for the Hierarchical Government, and Unity of the Church, according to Primitive Form, their Enemies opprobrioufly call High-Church, and High-Flyers. For tho' he looks upon all Priests, without distinction, to be like Mount Ebanks, and Juglars, Knaves and Impostors by Interest, and represents the Priest. bood as a Cheat, and an enflaving Toke upon the liberties of Mankind: Tet he seems to Celebrate those of the Latitude fort with fair, great, and gaudy Characters, because from those Mens Writings and Actings (if he has not taken, yet) he justifies and recommends

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mends his Impious Maxims against us, our Orders, and Powers. Thus all, that unhappily Plane the way for Deism, are proportionably Caressed, even the Dissenters of all sorts, as they more or less contribute thereunto, tho' all the while he really scorns them as Proditors of themselves and Religion, and designs to Involve them with others in the Common Ruin. Since therefore he is the most notorious Enemy to Christianity that hath yet appeared among us, we may be certain, that those, whom he most of all hates, are the best Christians, and have the best Principles, to which we therefore ought most Religiously to adhere.

How these Gentlemen of our own Prosession, who have been pleased to open gates, and make gaps for the admission of corruptions into the Church, can like the Eulogies of this Anti-Christian Author, I can't tell, yet methinks they shou'd be not a little out of Countenance to be thus artisticially, and designedly exposed to publick

lick scorn, and disgrace by counterfeit and jeering Praises for their service to so wretched a design, which therefore I hope will be a warning hereafter to all, that have taken upon them our Orders, how they fo Civilly, and Officiausly betray that good thing which is committed to their Charge, and thereby (for other by ends) purchase to themselves a guilty Conscience, and no little Infamy. And as my Charity obliges me to admonish these, I think it my Duty to advise our Dissenters also, to be upon their Guard, from the Common Enemy. For the they are cherished by the Fawning Strokings, and Flatteries of these Unbelievers, yet the Snare is as well laid for them, as the Ruine is complotted for us. And for their conviction herein, I think it not amiss to give them an Instance, of which I my self am a Witness, together with several others.

As I was Riding in the Country, a GENTLEMAN among others in the Company, joyn'd

a Presbyterian Preacher, (whose Name and place, in tenderness, to him I conceal;) the Gentleman (knowing what he was) engaged him in some Discourse about Schism, during the Heat whereof they overtook me, and I being unknown to this Teacher, rode on a silent Auditor of their dispute. At length growing warm he ask'd in a triumphant way, if we had seen the Rights of the Christian Church. or if any one had answered it. interposing some Questions to him, he confessed to me, that he was of those Principles, and tho' he endeavoured to get off by some trifling Evasions, yet at last he frankly confessed, that he judged not only Papists, but Mahometans, and the most Idolatrous Pagans, to be in a State of Favour with God, if they acted according to their Conscience; which certainly renders the Price of our Redemption, the Publication of the Gospel, the Covenant of Grace, and all Christian Ordinances utterly needless, and so reflects on the Wisdom

dom of God in the Way that he has taken to fave Mankind. Now if their other Teachers are (like this Man) deluded into these Errors, then they ought by their own Principles to Preach them' to their Disciples. and not bind them up in Conscience to their own, or any Communion. And if they do so Teach them, do they not blindly lead them into the Ditch? Therefore I hope their Superintendents, who have sense enough to see such Pernisious Doctrines, will better instruct their Country Suffragans, that they be not deluded themselves, nor unhappily delude the Poor People out of all Christianity into a Contempt of Religion, with the Generation of Atheists, and Deists, that now make War against Christ.

Thus as far as God is pleased to permit for the Tryal of our Faith and patience, Hell hath opened Her Mouth, and Her Serpents threaten to sting us unto Death; but Constancy, and Courage, will soon disperse these evils. Their strength, consists in Novelty, and all Novelty,

Novelty foon dwindles away, and comes to little or nought. So we find by Sociaianism which threatned us with a general Deluge immediately upon the Revolution; but that's out of Fashion already, and was soon put out of the Mode, and as great a Stir, as it made yet it already appears that it has done its worft. We were threatned with a Second Part, Forsooth from the Scriptures, but that perhaps is put off to a longer day: And at last 'twill be nothing but Brownism, such another Crazy Price as that of Barrow lately Printed. in which the Title Page tells us. The Rights of the Christian Church, are further afferted by the Holy Scriptures. Which shews that these Hero's are Reduced to great straights, when they are forced thus to amuse the World, and expose themselves with such a Title, as was long since Written by a Desperate Enthufiast of an exploded Sect. Tis said that the Club were some Years in collecting the Matter, and framing the Structure of their Book. Their

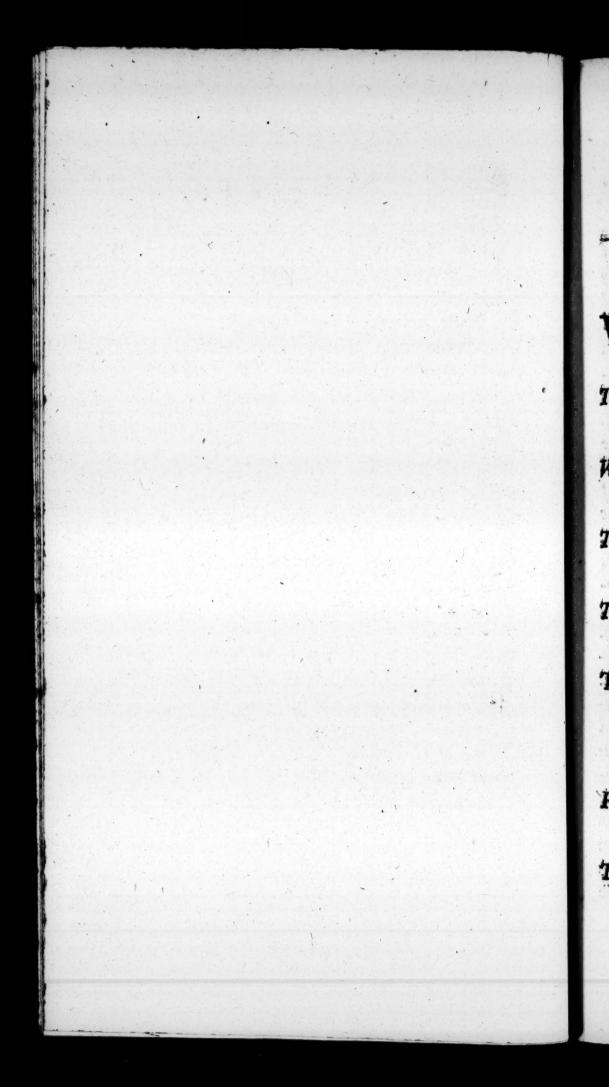
Their Stock I believe is almost spent and they can appear, no more, but with the same show over, and, over again: And as it happens with Blazing Meteors carried upon the Wings of the Wind, so these Flashing Fatuous Fires of Deism now san'd a little with vain, and Popular Airs will quickly expire, and fall into Contempt sirst, and not long

after, into utter Oblivion.

To conclude, altho' I hope there is even in these Papers enough to convince any Rational and equal Person of the Vanity of their enterprize, yet I fear there is but little bope of these Mens Converstion, who as it were Crucify Christ afresb in his Scriptures, in his Church, in his Priests, in his Sacraments, and in all his Offices, as Priest, Prophet, and King. Tet tho' they seem to have done despite to the Spirit of Grace, and by the Rules of the Gospel, are of all others in a most Dangerous Condition, yet since God's Mercy is as infinite, as his Majesty, let us earnestly Pray for the de per ae

dispesrat State of this unhappy sort of Men, that though they are in the Gall of Bitterness and Bond of Iniquity, they may Repent of this their Wickedness, and find Mercy, that perhaps the thoughts of their Hearts and the Blasphemies of their Tongues and Pens, may be forgiven them: And as to all others like to be feduced by them, I shall only put them in Mind of the Charge of Moses against Corah, and his Complices. Num. 16. 26. Depart I pray you from the Tents of these Wicked Men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their Sins.

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ATHereas (p. 282, 283.) I have founded V the Subjection of Bishops to Synodical Censures in Contract, (the African Church, in the voice of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, denying that there is by Divine Constitution, any Bishop of Bishops, and that every Bp. must give an account of his own Acts unto God) for to be more explicit herein, It feems to me, that originally the Synodical frame began thus; The Apostles, as founders of the Church, by an extraordinary Commission, had power to call the Bishops of their creation unto Council, without any Contract, as appears in Acts 20: and to cenfure offenders also by that transcendent Authority. But other Founders of Churches, and Ordainers of Bishops in them, could not, nor ever can claim that Power but by Contract. Whereupon it is probable, that Timothy

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Timothy and Titus, who were left at Ephesus and Crete to Ordain Bishops in every City of their Provinces, and other like immediate Successors of the Apostles (as in the Seven Churches of Asia the Seven Angels) might require of such Bishops, as they should ordain, federal Sponsions to Synodical Union and Commerce at the call of their Ordainer, and perhaps of the Succesfors of his (the first) See, even as our Bishops at their Confecration contract obedience to to the Arch-Bishop. In which Councils when they met, the Disorders, that some ill Bishops might occasion, might, and did cause them to enter into methods of Censure against such and fuch offenders, to which when they had confented, then they made Canons accordingly, and hence we find the early Primacy of some Metropolitan Bishops from the days of the Apostles, and thereupon those very ancient Canons that are called Apostolical: But that without such federal Sponsion, one Bishop does not become immediately subject to his Ordainer or Ordainers by the mere Right, Reason, and Force of that Ordination, appears in such Bishops as have been Ordained for the Plantation of Churches among remote and alien Provinces, &c. as Frumentius was by Athanasius to the Indians, to whom however we do not find Frumentius subjected in any Canonical or Synodical Duties or Cenfures.

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The Principles and Arguments advanc'd against the Hierarchy, in a late Book, entituled The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted, &c. Examin'd in a Conference between DEMAS and HIERARCHA.

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The Preface Discuss'd.

Lthough Mr. Demas,

You have for saken me,
having low'd this present World, yet I
know not wherein I have deserv'd such
insolent Usage at your Hands; but
such however is usually the Temper of
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Renegado's and Apostates, which I cou'd eafily neglect, were my own Interests only affected hereby; but fince you are for setting Traps, not only for Souls and Consciences, but even the common Senses of Mankind, you'll be content, that some Discussion be made of those Principles and Notions that you have advanc'd against Christianity, that the proof and force of 'em may be publickly tried: This I suppose cannot be an unwelcome or unreasonable Proposal to a Man of Defiances, and therefore on that confidence, you'll permit me to traverse your whole Performance in order, from the Beginning to the End, that fo this Controverfy may be brought to a just Issue.

Demas, How now Sawce! Do you pretend to grapple with me? Come near, and I will give thy Flesh unto the Fowls of the Air and the Beasts of the Field.

Preface, as that prefix'd to your Book, whereby we have been fo furiously Canonaded from King Henry VIII's Draconic's, and other the like Artillery

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lery projected in those days, which I fancy will prove as harmless as loud, and make no Breaches on the Tents of Israel.

Dem. Say you so! Are you minded to attack the Laws of Supremacy with the same Design of the Municipium Ecclesiasticum, that the Publick may take occasion to review those Laws, &c. Then don't play the Hypocrite, so as to pretend a Desence of the Church as establish'd by Law; nor censure me for desending those Laws to your utter Consusion. Presace, Page lxxxvi.

ther. Well then, I agree to't, and shall gratefully honour all the Laws by which it has been and is really establish'd, and first of all, that great and sundamental Charter of the Land; by the first Chapter of which, the Church of England is to be inviolably free, under the Curse of God on all the Violators of that Charter, and that, de foresta, for a long time publickly denounc'd in the Church by consent of the Nation. Now these Laws, and all others which secure the Churches Liberties, are her real National Establishments; and even B 2

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those which are counter, tho' they do not challenge our Approbation, yet they require our Acknowledgment and Submission. On these Considerations, the generality of the Clergy, not only feeing in Theory, but feeling by Experience the great Inconveniences of them, have of late, with a just and modest freedom in feveral Ways, and according to their feveral personal and publick Capacities, express'd their desire of their Repeal or Emendation, bearing, however, the weight and feverity of them without the least Violation, and with a Meekness and Patience, as well as Courage truly Christian; notwithflanding their Griefs have been increas'd by the perfidious Compliances of some among themselves, who have advanc'd Maxims almost as pernicious to the Church and Hierarchy as yours, and of an influential tendency to Irreligion. The Chief of these are those you so pompoully celebrate, for no other cause, but that their Writings serve to cover and countenance fo great a Part of your Impiety. Now, in all free Kingdoms, 'tis the unquestionable Right of All, and all Orders of Subjects, in their successive Generations, fub0

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fubmisfively, not only to bewail, but also to address the publick against the hardships, as well of Laws, as other Proceedings of Government, when Prudence and Junctures shall give encouraging hopes of Success. Hence our Enemies perceiving our general Diffatisfaction, and the strength of our Cause, maintain'd with irrefistible Evidence and Authority, and thereby like to prepare the Piety of the Publick to the confideration of it, have muster'd up all their Forces, and sharpen'd all the Weapons, not only of all the tolerated Dissenters, but Socinians, Deists, Atheists (the Papists in the mean while smiling as Spectators feemingly unconcern'd) to the utter Crucifixion of Christ and his Church. In which Train, fince you have affected the Van, and given the first attack in your Preface, let us see whether we are able to fustain the violence of the Shock.

First then, When we complain against a few of Henry VIIIth's Laws, you tell us our Claims are naught, and pretend to prove them so by those very Laws, and the Principles on which those Laws were Enacted, even on the concession and request of the Convocations: But

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fince those Laws, and these Principles then first sprang up in this Nation, their local Innovation here, is a fatal Prejudice against them. The Advantage of a Premunire, upon the tort of an absolete Law, for submitting to Wolfey's Le. gantine Authority, which he long enjoy'd and exercis'd with the King's publick Favour, was to be redeem'd with no less than 118840 l. and 10 d. and the Recognition of his Title of Supreme Head; which tho' they Recogniz'd with this Limitation, as far as 'twas lawful by Christ's Law, (as no doubt you knew from other Authors, and have been well mind-* Preface, p. ed of it by Dr. Hickes *) yet cxlix, the Statute of 26. of Henry VIII. c. 1. represents it as made absolute and unlimited, and accordingly, in 37 Henry VIII. c. 17. he is afferted by God's Word, the Head and Fountain of all Ecclefiastical Jurisdiction, tho' a Lay-man; all which therefore Lay-men may exercise by his Commission, and Bishops no otherwise, according to the express Tenour of those Commissions, which they took out to hold their Bishopricks and Powers (even

of Ordination) during pleasure; cording whereto the Practice was the fame with fome further Additions in King Edward VIth's Reign; but without any Decree of Convocation. But either those Laws were only politick Provisions, to colour over the Designs of the then Alterations, and to lay a Pretence for the equity of the Penal Sanction, and fo not defign'd for Standards of Doctrine in Christiantiy and Conscience; or, if at first intended for fuch, they were foon corrected in Henry VIII's own time, in the Book fet forth as the Standard of the Doctrine in that time, entitul'd, The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man; by which the King's power of the Clergy is, to oversee them, that they faithfully execute their Pastoral Office, especially in the Points committed to them by Christ and his Apostles, obeying him in all things not contrary to God's Laws, referving to them all that Authority committed to them by Christ and his Apostles; and accordingly to the full, Queen Elizabeth's Explanation of the Oath of Supremacy, and 37th Article establish'd by Act of Parliament, discharge King Henry's monstrous Notions from

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* Bp. of Sarum cited by Dr. Hickes, in Pref. p. cl. to clvi. See him there at large; and Dr. Hickes's 2d Letter.

from our Faith *. Now your Dispute and mine precisely is of the Doctrine of those Days, and of the Laws no otherwise than as Evidences of those Doctrines, which either they never were, or were soon in that

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Point Corrected, and that finally by the Queen, Convocation, and Parliament.

And as to the 2d Synodical Submiffion, and the Statute thereupon, as it was violently extorted from the Clergy, and unfairly represented in the Preamble of the Statute, and the same extended beyond the intent of the Submitting Convocation, (if Bishop Wake, and other Antiquaries of ours fay true) so it contains no point of Christian Doctrine, but Domestick Constitutions, and consequently is of no Doctrinal force against the Powers Hierarchical, except we affert it infallibly impossible, that any Kings and Parliaments can make Laws against any true Principles of Religion, tho' they have often Enacted Popish and Anti-Popish Principles in the same Articles: And therefore our continuance in and under that Submission, is not to be attributed to any PrinPrinciple of Conscience; but either to Prudent Patience, or Cowardly Fear. All which being to a Demonstration evident, whatsoever particular Bishops did, or afferted, in compliance with the torrent of Power and Interest, can never in the least prejudice the Catholick

Faith of a Divine Hierarchy.

Beside, upon your own Principles, such Laws ought not to have been brought by you against our Claims; because you deny, that Kings have any Ecclefiaffical Power at all, and therefore our Powers cannot be disproved to be true, by a Principle which you affert false. Truth only can overbear Errors, and therefore confessed Impostures ought not to have been alledged. But what you knew had not the real force of Argument, might however feem very argumentative with the unthinking part of Mankind, and useful to inflame the Jealousie and Rage of Secular Powers, that thence by our Oppression, Religion may fink and decay without any hopes of recovery.

Dem. But good Sir, that your Principle of the Divine Right of Bishops is not so universally ancient, nor perpetu-

Royal Power in Jurisdictions Ecclesiastical so Novel with us, the Regal Exemptions of many Abbeys, particularly all that were of Royal Foundation, and all the King's Donatives, from Episcopal Jurisdiction in the days of Popery, and of free Chappels sounded by private Persons with the King's License, is a full and ancient Evidence. Pref. p. xxii.

Dier. But as this does not deny the Divine Institution of Hierarchical Powers in general, nor the Divine Right of using 'em in the Places affigned them, which is a Catholick Principle; fo the Exemptions of particular Places, and putting them under the Ecclesiastical Visitation of Laymen, was a joynt Device of Popes and Kings, contrived by Popes to obtain a Supremacy over all Bishops, by the Power of Princes, who, for that reason, were to have their Dividend under, and by vertue of the Pope's Ecclefiaftical Supremacy in the concession of these Powers, reserving however the last Appeals to his Holiness. But Kings, having gotten these Powers by fuch

fuch means, prefently made 'em Royal Prerogatives at Common Law, and then upon occasions made Statutes against the Pope's Claims and Usages, as Usurpations. Thus Popish and injurious Confederacies prey'd upon the Divine Rights of Bishops, in the Days of Barbarity and Ignorance, and are now by you made a Plea of Right against the Oppressed: But since the Principles of the Papal Powers are falle, and exploded for fuch by this Church, they are not to be Pleaded against the Catholick Evidence and Authority of Divine Constitution, in whatsoever Lay-hands they yet in any exempt places continue to be. And now I defire you would offer fome other Arguments, that look like pertinent, instead of what you alledge, p. xxiv. of Bishops being punished by Temporal Judges, for exceeding their Jurisdiction, and acting against the Laws, and instead of those false Consequences you draw from Acts of Parliament, fraudulently quoted for the Magistrates inquest of Lollardies, in xxv. Page, which being nothing to the Rhombus, 'twill not be worth my while to examin.

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Dem. Well then, omitting the bufiness of Wills and Marriages, and fuch like, p. xxvi. till a more convenient opportunity offers, in the first Chapter of my Book, and the Arguments against the Divine Right of Bishops, in matters of Ecclesiastical Censure, from several Statutes of Ed. 6. and Jam. 1. ordaining Excommunication, because Dr. Hickes has pretended to Answer 'em in the clxxiv. and clxxv. Pages of his Preface, I shall proceed to the Powers of Deans and Arch-Deacons in the highest Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction, which must be wholly inconfistent with the modern Notion of Bishops being Governours of the Church by Divine Right, and therefore as it is a late, and humane, fo it must be a Parliamentary Constitution. Pref. p. xxvi.

vine Right to Govern the Church, so have they to Employ (as well as Ordain) inferior Orders in a share, or shares of that Government: And hence the Spiritual Jurisdiction of Deans, Arch-deacons, and Clergy-men Prebendaries,

bendaries, regularly was derived before, and without any originant Constitution of Parliament.

Dem. But if in a National Church. the Division into Ecclesiastical Districts and Parishes, and the appointment of Ecclesiastical Officers over them, belongs to the Legislative, then the Bishop's Right to his District, and his Government, is not from God, or himfelf, but from the Legislative. Hence those Bishops, that are Authoriz'd by the King to Confecrate others, having no Legislature here in themselves, nor acting by a Commission derived from the Convocation, every fuch Bishop's right of Jurisdiction, making Canons, and Ordinations, must be derived mediately from the Parliament, but immediately from the King, as having the Supreme Executive Power, Pref. p. xxix.

bier. When a Church becomes National by a Legal Establishment, the Hierarchical Powers may enter into Contracts with the State (in consideration thereof) to limit the Exercise of their Spiritual Powers to such and such Rules,

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Rules, as the Affignation of Districts, c. which Rules therefore, de jure, bind the Spiritual Powers by their own Contract, while the Temporal perform their part; but if the Seculars fail, or break off, the Spiritual may divide, and supply the Districts, as they shall judge expedient; The natural Order running thus: That those Districts, which the Apostles, or other Bishops first fixed for Sees Episcopal, at, or for the Conversion of Insidels, and Forming, and Governing the Churches Collected in them, should be continued under a Succession of Bishops to be Confecrated for them by some of the Episcopal Colledge, the same however to be alter'd, either by the meer power of their respective single Bishops, when it might be done without diforder or prejudice; or by the joynt Authority of all the other joynt-interefted Bishops, faving however the Rights of the inferiour Clergy and People free from injury, violence and oppression; and their Consent therefore to fuch Alterations, as could not otherwise be made without wronging them, and this on manifest Reasons of exigence or convenience, not private humour

humour or fancy: So that where Civil Establishment, or Incorporation of Churches does, by local and federal Contracts, pass over several alienable Authorities to the Secular Powers. and confine the use of the unalienable to certain limits; those Powers, that they referve and exercise under such Contracts and Limitations, are not derived from the Temporal, but from a Divine Charter; and thus we have evaded this fatal Snare, without making the Church a private Society, Club, or Company. *Pref. p. xxx. * The Snare, Friend Demag, is broken, and we are delivered.

Dem. But the Lay-deprivation of Bishops, my Friend, is an eternal and invincible Prejudice against the Tenure of their Sees by a Divine Commission. See Pref. p. xxx, xxxi.

Dier. No, no, not so: For in the simple Nature of things, without respect of, or antecedently to any mutual Contract, Temporal Powers may command Deprivation, and that, de jure, upon just Causes; and Temporally punish the Church for Non-obedience

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or Non-concurrence; but their Commands cannot have an Ecclefiastical Effect and Issue, without proper Canonical Acts of the Church Powers, in which the very form of Deprivation, as to the Spiritual Authority, does confift. But if Secular Judges, by meer fecular Authority, shou'd pass a Sentence of Deprivation without any Authority any wife, either nearly or remotely, deriv'd from Church Powers, it wou'd be in it self of no Canonical Validity, but a meer Secular Usurpation: But if in fuch coalitions of Church and State there can be a good Contract, and the fame has really past in Fact, that for Offences that deserve Deprivation, the Legislature shall Enact, and the secular Judge Condemn, and the Temporal Officer Execute fuch Deprivation; fuch Deprivation then will be valid by the Contract and Authority of the Church therein warranting and enabling those Secular Powers to do that, which otherwife they had no competent Authority to do. But such Contract must be not meerly suppos'd in the Prescription herein pleadable for the Civil Powers, because they, by uncontroulable force, may continue a Practice over oppress'd Subiects

lects and Immunities for many Ages, without supposing the Concession of the Sufferers as the ground of it; but must be express, recogniz'd and recorded in the Acts both of Church and State, fince the ground of fuch meer prescription can't be definitely ascertain'd to be laid in a Non-apparent Concession of the Church, in prejudice to their Liberties in the use of their Divine Powers, given them by Commission from God, in which the Unity of the Catholick, as well as the Conduct of particular Churches, being provided for, 'tis a great question whether any fingle Bishop, or Bishops of a particular Church, can, by any valid Act of fuch Submission, invert the Order Ecclesiastical which Christ has founded, by which feveral of the Laity must be superior to, and exempt from the Hierarchical Conduct and Discipline (which is Christ's) for the faving their Souls, and use an Authority common to the whole Colledge of Bishops throughout the World, the Acts of which, if valid, they are bound to admit as fuch, tho' not tied thereto by any Rules, Laws, or Principles of Catholick Commerce or Communion; and therefore I

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think no fuch Contracts of Lodging purely Spiritual Authorities, with Lay Powers, can be valid in the fight of God, and the fense of the Church Catholick, and on the Principles of its Architectonick Unity.

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Dem. But heark you, Friend, if the Legislative Powers can dissolve a Bishoprick, as that of Durham by the 7 of Ed. 6. they must be able to Unbishop a Man, since a Bishop can't be without a Correlate Bishoprick, and the same must hold also in the Consolidation of two Bishopricks, by which one Bishop must be deprived; and in taking off parts of old Bishopricks, and erecting them into new Bishopricks, as in Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, &c. whereby the old Bishop must lose part of his Flock, Clergy, and Charge. Pref. p. xxxi, xxxii.

on pretence of meer Secular Power, the Incumbents being alive, and not confenting, 'twou'd be, or feem meer Tyranny, and null as to any Right: Nor in vacancy, can it be validly done without fome Original, or prefent Confent of

of the Powers Hierarchical; because antecedently to fuch confent, these Powers Hierarchical may, de jure, fix their own districts; otherwise Secular Powers might extinguish the Christian Church and Religion; which I think is a full Answer to this Objection, and faves the Divine Rights of the Hierarchy Inviolate. And here I must appositely take notice, that feveral Acts of Parliament, by you cited, were grounded on Acts of Convocation as pre-requisite, and therefore, where they cou'd not be elicited, extorted by the Violence of the Civil Power, after the manner of the Surrendries and Diffolutions of Religious Houses; and so made seemingly valid by Ecclefiaffical Concessions, without the which, all Secular force upon facred Offices appear'd Tyrannical and Sacrilegious. To be Puniffed or navon

Dem. But how can you get over this Notorious Truth, that the King's Spiritual Supremacy, as settled by Acts of Parliament, was by our Divines made the Characteristick of the Church of England against Popery and Fanaticism, and was not only the means, but the justifying Ground of the Reformation?

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Hence the 37th Canon afferts the Statutes and Laws, that restor'd the King's ancient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical; and by the Second Canon, whosoever shall deny the King the same Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes, as the Pious Jewish Princes had, &c. or shall endeavour to hurtor extenuate it, as tis settled by the Laws of this Kingdom, he is, ipso facto, Excommunicate. Pres. p. xi, xii.

Dier. No Acts of Parliament in this point now in force have recogniz'd the Right of the King's Spititual Supremacy, as a Doctrine, Principle, and Standard of Orthodoxy in this Church; that that is, is Establish'd in the 37th Article, by which, all Persons Ecclesiastical, as well as Secular, are Subjects to the Crown, to be Punish'd with the Civil Sword, for stubborn and evil doings: And the Recognition of this, was one Means, Point, and Ground of our Reformation; but not the Sole one, as you wou'd feem to infinuate. The Ancient Jurisdiction of the Crown over the Church was justly restored by the Laws, and maintain'd by Canon, but all other Laws are not hereby justified; and as for

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for the Identity of Authority of our King in Ecclefiafticals with Pious Jewifb Princes, and Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church, we may well own it confistently with all our claims of a Divine Hierarchy, as you have, or (had it been worth your while) you might have seen at large in my Rights, Liberties, and Authorities of the Christian Church, Part I. Chap. II, IV. And thus having accounted for the standing Principles of the Church, for the Just and Limited Supremacy of our, and all Christian Princes, I shall take no notice of your fallacious quotations from Selden of the Arch-bishops Bancroft, and Whitgift; for credulity it felf can never believe them Adversaries to the Divine Powers of the Hierarchy, even in Menthat never read their Works, that have but heard of their Histories and high Zeal for the Church; nor would therefore take words intended only against Popery and Fanaticism, in things extrinfecal to the Essential Constitution of the Church made by Christ Jesus, to the denial of that Constitution. Nor is your fo often alledging the Irenicum of any Weight, since its Author

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* Dr. Hicks Pref.

p. See Lowith, Sub.
of Ch. Power, C.vi.

The Company retracted, recanted, and craved Pardon for his Errors * in this Book.

liament of K. Ch. II. in Scotland, the Bishops concurring, and none of the Laity contra-protesting, own all the external Government and Polity of the Church, and the Persons employ'd in it to be in that Crown? Oc. Pref. p. xiii,

biet. Well; but this does not affect, but effectually renounce all the Right of the Internal and properly Spiritual Government thereof from his Majesty and his Successors, which it leaves to the Hierarchy as deriv'd, not from the Crown, but from Christ, and so confirms the claim you wou'd hereby pretendito oppose. See the Explan. Act. cited by the 2d. Part Wolf stript. p. 21.

Dem. But what fay you to my History of the Revival of this Doctrine in K.Ch. the First's time, by A.B. Land, and the Bishops, and all others of the like stamp since the Restoration?

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Dier. I fay 'tis false, wicked, and affectedly malicious; and, being therefore nothing to the point in question, not worth discussion. Only thus far it proves our Principles to be faithfully maintain'd by the Church thro' all her Perfecutions, and continued ever fince in the days of our rest, notwithstanding all the Terrors that still threaten us for them from all quarters: But whereas you represent it as a Populh Doctrine reviv'd in those days, I believe I may Challenge you to produce, fince the Neceffary Erudition of a Christian Man was Publish'd by Henry VIIIth's own Authority, any Author of the Church of England, * that Stillings, when has written of this Subject be prote his Iagainst Papists or Puritans, renicum, was but what has strenuously defended the Spiritual Government of the Church, as instituted by Christ and his Apostles.

Dem. The railers against the Act of Submission, as inconsistent with the Divine Right of Synods, would do well to reconcile their Notions with the 12th Canon, Excommunicating, ipso facto, C 4 whosever

whosoever shall affirm it lawful for Ministers or Laic's to make Canons, Decrees, or Constitutions in matters Ecclesiastical, without the King's Authority, and to submit themselves to be Govern'd by them. *Pref.* p. lxxix.

Diet. This is easily done, it being directed against Puritans, who by their Ministers and Elders, affected such a Power in opposition to the Convocations of the Church call'd by the King's Authority, and is in it self a meer Canonical Constitution against any pretended Synods here but those of the Church, not an Article of Doctrine against the Divine Right of all Episcopal Synods in the World, not called by the King's Authority.

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And thus having (as I think) answer'd all that seems to carry any appearance of Argument in your Preface against the Doctrine of the Church of England for the Divine Right of the Hierarchy, I think it does neither become or concern me to take notice of your Acts of defamation to enslame the World against us; may God in mercy rebuke you, and I will next proceed to Catechise you upon your Fundamental Introduction.

The

The Introduction Discuss'd.

piet. PRay, Mr. Demas, What was the preliminary defign you had upon us by this Introduction?

Dem. To lay fuch Fundamental principles of Civil and Religious Government, as being uncontestably evident, and eternally unalterable, must therefore convict all other Schemes that are contrary to them, and particularly therefore the pretended Divine Rights of the Hierarchy.

pter. Well then, begin at the bottom.

Dem. Nothing can be more Evident, than that, before compacts make any alteration, between creatures of the fame kind, promiscuously born to all the same advantages, and the use of the same faculties, there must be an equality of Power. Introd. §. 4. p. 3.

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Dier. Pray let me know what you meanby Power, whether you understand thereby Strength only, or just Right of Authority, and that whether over Things or Persons?

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Dem. Oh Sir, I mean an equal Authority over Things and Perfons.

bier. And do you mean equally over all Things and Perfons?

Dem. Yes furely, or else there cou'd be no equality.

this Hypothesis, that this equality of Power, will become an equality of no Power, no Right, or Authority; for that, which is under one Man's Right, is his Property, and so far belongs to him peculiarly, and itis injury and violence for any other Person to take it away. So if every one of my Limbs be of Right mine, except I Forseit or Surrender my Right, no Man else can have Right to take 'em away,

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away, or to force me to use 'em in his Service, or to his Pleasure. And what another can't of right do to me, I have no Authority to do to him. But I must further note, that as to all things that are without us, all equal Persons have no right to them by their meer Birth-right, but particular Men have proper Rights by Nature, or by some positive Act of their own, as in the first Invention, or Occupation of things before common, in order to their Sublistence, or the Grant of another, (in whose property the things granted before were) either of God or Man. Thus the Garden of Eden was Adam's property, not by the meer Right of his Creation, Existence, or any of his Essential Persections, but by the Gift of God: And his Property in, and Authofity over his Wife and Children, were from the same Gift and Ordinance of God, as appears by his History, Gen. c. 2, 3, 4. And his Children had no equal Authority over him, or his Wife Antecedently to any suppos'd Contract between them to the contrary. When Reuben lay with Bilbah, his Father's Concubine, and defil'd his Bed (Gen. 35. 22. and 49. 4.) Jacob resented it as as an Injury, tho' Reuben and he had made no Contract to the contrary, and they were then in a state of Nature without civil Government: 'Tis true indeed, by the natural Law and Ordi. nance of God, some, nay all Persons have by their meer Birth, a Right to fome external Advantages; but the same appropriate, and not common to all; for each Child has a proper Right to his own Mother's Breafts, which others have not; and to the Care and Education of his own Parents, which other Children cannot claim, or others for 'em: Beside, in the equality of Essence, the difference of Sexes, Ages, Capacities, and Inclinations, render them uncapable of many the same Specific, and much more then of the same Individual Rights, Advantages, and Powers. The defign of Nature herein, being, that God in the course of his Providence, shou'd not only dispose us, and enthate us in what he pleases; but in what shou'd be suitable to each ones Capacities, for the benefit and beauty of the whole Body, or Community of Mankind.

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Dem. Children, 'tis true, are not in a full state of such Equality, tho' Born to it; for till they come to the Use of Reason, they are to be govern'd by the Reason of their Parents, as delirant Parents are by the Reason of their Children. Introd. §. 4. p. 3.

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Diet. 'Tis then confess'd, that Infants or Children are not Born in the full state of this Equality in Power, but only to it, then actually to commence, when they can Use their Reason; but I have shown reasons to the contrary, which till you clear off, this Principle is so far from being most evident, that 'tis false; and that so notoriously, that it has not colour enough to attain the credit of a Fallacy. Beside, tho' Reafon in Parents is a necessary and prerequisite Qualification, without which they cannot duly govern their Children, yet the proper Right of Parents herein, is not founded in their meer Reason, nor the Subjection of Children to them in the meer Defect of it. But suppose it were so, What measures of reason has the Law of Nature assign'd, by which immediately Children shall

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be free from the Government of their Parents, and be equal with them in all Rights, Powers, and Authorities? This must be determin'd by Nature it self. or else no Man can know when to claim his Right, and use and enjoy his Liberty by her Laws. Beside, every Man's maturity of Reason must be at least equal up to a certain Point, before he can claim this Liberty against the Government of his Parents; and the same must be a certain Criterion of Right herein, else Parents and Children may mistake, and quarrel herein, and the Quarrel be uncapable of a just Decision, if the Laws of Nature are not determinate and punctual herein to a Nicety, I might add, that all Men do not arrive to fuch a just Use of Reafon at the same Age, and some never; so that for want of a natural Determination of Age, the full measure of Reafon, that may happen to each Man equally in a vast inequality of years, had need be clear as a first and indubitable Principle, known to all Men by the common Laws of Humane Nature and Reason. Beside, were this fix'd, What if the Parents dye before the Children are arriv'd to this maturity of ReaReason, to whose disposal and government do they belong in such a supposed state of Nature by the Laws of that State and that Nature? and if in their Minority, Adult Persons change that natural to a civil State, who, by the Right and Law of Nature shall, de jure, subject these Minors to such civil Consociations? As on the other side, if in such a state of Nature delirant Parents have several Children, since no Man can serve two Masters, to which of those Children must such Parents be subject by the Law of Nature?

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Dem. Well, I'll consider this Matter at leasure: In the mean time according to my positive over-bearing way of Dictature, I still tell you, that by this exercise of Reason, a Child becomes as free as his Parents; and being oblig'd to preserve his own Life and Limbs, and subsist as happily as Nature will permit, he cannot allow his Father, or any other, an absolute Dominion over his Life, or what is necessary to preserve it. Introd. §. 4. p. 3, 4.

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the exercise of Reason, and thereby to freedom from their Parents, they are not oblig'd to preserve their own Life and Limbs against the absolute Dominion of their Parents, but are bound to allow it; which yet I think they are not, but may avoid and oppose it by all lawful and honest ways of escaping and flying from them, and fuch like equitable means, in any state of Minority and Imperfection of Reason; or if the smallest Sparks of beginning Reafon and Apprehension, make Children free from parental Government, they will be free as foon as they can give an Answer, or be instructed in what is necessary or destructive to their Subfistence, that is, about Eight or Nine years of Age at utmost. But supposing a Child now in full exercise of a reafonable Measure of Reason the Question is not, What he may, or may notallow his Parents, or others, over his Life or Limbs, or the Necessaries to his Preservation, and the most happy Subsistence of his Nature; But what Dominion fuch Parents themselves have over such a Child?' And if they have any Dominion over him in the state of Nature, tho' it be not arbitrary over Life

or Limb, that limited Authority of the gentlest Government destroys your pretended Natural equality of power between fuch a Child and his Parents. Beside by the Laws of Moles Rebellious Children are to be put to death, which shews, that such Children in a State of Nature, merit death by the Law of Nature, and by the Form of process against 'em it appears, that in a State of Nature, Parents in such cases had an Authority of inflicting capital Punishments on fuch Children, whose Impiety to their Parents had deserved Death, and forfeited their Natural Right to their Lives. The words of Deuteronomy, Chap. 21. v. 18, to 22, run thus; If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, and the voice of his mother, and that, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them, Then shall his Father and mother lay hold on him, and bring him unto the Elders of his City, and the Gate of his place, And they shall say unto the Elders of his City, this our Son is fubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, he is a glutton and a drunkard, And all the people of his City shall stone him with stones till he die. Where we

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fe or are to observe, that such Son is supposed to be of adult maturity and reason, because incorrigible; Secondly, That even under that Civil State, the Parents retain'd their natural Right of Governing and Chastising him, and he therefore not equally free, either from the Obedience or Correction of his Parents, and that on meer Immorals against meer personal Sobriety, as Gluttony and Drunkenness, hurting no Man perhaps but himself; and therefore the power of Life and Death being by God placed in the Judges, the Parents however first lay hold of him, and bring him to the Judges, and on their alone accusation he dies, the Judges doing that for the Parents, which in the state of Nature Parents might have done themselves, as they did part of it in laying hold on him, Orc.

But further, without any criminal forfeiture of Life in a State of Nature, fuch exigences may happen, as will warrant Men to allow to others an arbitrary Power over their Lives, as in a State of Captivity, in an Army, in arbitrary Monarchies, and indeed under all Legislative Powers, and the

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ral Execution of their Statutes or crees. But whereas you are fo nicetender and delicate; as to oblige hildren not to abate any thing of e natural felicities of subsistence in edience to Parents or any other, u do not only hereby oppose the ove cited Law of Moses, in the matof obstinate Gluttony and Drunkness, in which such Sons place their icity of Subfiftence, but make it a in Children to Submit, not only Parents, but even to Civil Governent, whenfoever they can fubfift more ppily without it; a Doctrine indeed of curiously repugnant to any the A degree of felf denial, that vile temptible Christian Vertue.

Dem. Well, I must consess, if a mild in years of Discretion lives with Father, he must, like others, in the selection and selection and Estate 'twill be prudence to be wern'd by a Father, if the Disadutages of such Obedience be not like be greater than the Advantage. herwise there is nothing due to a rent, but Respect, Honour, and Gra-

Gratitude, and, if need be, Affistant and Support. Introd. §. 5. p. 4, 5.

pier. But either this State of Sub fifting in a Family is a State of Na ture meerly, or not. If not, it con cerns not the present Subject in d fpute; If it be, then all in the Famil are, on your Principles, of equal Powe and none of them bound to be Sub jects to any one of them: And in fue a supposed State of Nature, there no appropriated Estate in any Fathe to be expected by a Son, where a things lie in common for every on that can catch 'em. But, in truth every Family, confifting only of Hu band, Wife, and Children, are, as t its Government, in a state of Natur only, where fubject to no exterio Powers, and all the Children in it how mature foever in the faculties Reason, are subject to the Parenta Authority, not by Contract, for Sub fistence, as Servants, but on the nati ral Right of Parentage and Alimony which last, Parents owe to their Chi dren by the Law of Nature to the utmost, till these do, or can quit the Family for a Subsistence elsewhere ay, ouse d u

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ay, Children removed from the ouse of their Parents, being free d unsubjected to other restraining wers, are bound to obey the Comand of their Parents in Offices, which e laws of Honour and Gratitude lige them to, and may be justly haltis'd by their Parents for Disodience. Nay, even under the toable injuries of Parents the Childn are under the laws of passive bmission without an equal Liberty d Right of Retaliation both in ch a Natural and Civil State, you ur felf confessing, (Introd. §. 7. 6.) That there's the same Duty ving to Parents, as well fince Polial Government as before. rio

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Dem. This Natural Equality of wer among Men in fuch a State Nature, cannot be lost without eir consent in forming themselves o Bodies Politick, by agreeing to determined by a Majority either press or tacit, which Majority ay, if not hinder'd by the greatness Numbers, keep it in their own Hand, commit it to Representatives to be ey'd, or deposed (upon acting D 3 agreeEnds of their Constitution) by the Judgment of the Body of the People, to whom it naturally return upon Male-Administration. Introd. 8. p. 6, 7.

biet. Then all Governments from the beginning of all Civil Societies this day, not thus erected, were no lawful, nor was Obedience due u them: And the Histories extant all Monarchies shew plainly the they had no fuch Original. An yet the Apostles St. Paul (Rom. 13. and St. Peter (1 Ep. 2. Ch.) requi red Obedience to the Roman En perors, and that for Conscient Take, while yet the Casars were no chosen by a free majority, consen ed to and empower'd by Subject of that Empire in a Nati ral State of Equality, either expres or tacitly. The Terrour of the Sword extorted the Submission the enflaved Senate, and by the means of the People, when the appear'd no force to defend eith their Civil or Natural Liberties. B fide, to fay generally, without E ception

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ception, that this Liberty cannot be lost without such a form of popular confent, will bar God from a Power of giving Civil Government or Governours to any People with an Obligation of Acceptance, Submission, and Obedience , and must vacate the Authority that God gave Mofes to Govern that People before they came to Horeb. Nay, God himself cannot be King over any fingle Man, by either the Right of Creation, Preservation, or Providence, except the Man himself choose him. And fo God giving to Adam a Law, and executing the penalty thereof without any Election of him for a King made by Adam, was an Ufurper and a Tyrant; and so likewise in the Penal Law upon all Mankind given to Noah against Murther, fince not Noah, nor his Family, nor his future Posterities had then made him King by their Election. This, if true, must be a point of Fundamental and Eternal concernment to all Civil Societies; it ought to be universally recognized as the first Table of Government, and known to every Person, Male and Female, D 4

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arriv'd to a Natural freedom by a maturity of Reason, as a first Principle of the Law of Nature, that so every Person may freely claim, and enjoy this Right, which he can't do without knowing it. For these principles of the Law of Nature, which direct to a due Conduct in Natural Society, are quickly apprehended by little Children, and their little tender Consciences eafily, from little hints, distinguish good and evil in their first Morals; and therefore this principle of Equality of Power in all Perfons using reason in a state of Nature, by which every Person freely chooses his Civil Governours, ought to be as early, natural, radical, and universal, in the Sense and Consciences of all rational A. gents, even of the Governours themfelves, that are, or are to be chosen and erected hereupon, that no private and unnatural Error may obliterate or weaken it. And had this been fo, all Governments, in fact, must originally have been form'd ESTE BULLIPAC. accordingly. Now, dear Dr. Demas. will you be pleas'd to shew this to be the Sense and Principle, and the Law and Usage of Nations, founded not only on feeming Meliorites or Conveniencies before other forms, but from ftrict Right against all other claims of God and Man to the contrary? Otherwife 'twill be in vain to frame private and imaginary Schemes, for the Rights and natural Pinciples of Civil Government for all Mankind, which no Civil Government, much less all Mankind, ever dream'd of; 'twill be in vain to tell Men, that nothing can be more evident, than a Principle of which Mankind had never fo much as any Apprehension, much less Benefit or Use. Beside, when we consider the natural Tempers of Mankind in the disposal of themselves and Actions, without any Divine Conduct, they are each one feverally led, not by common Reasons of real Good to any publick Community, but by their private Affections, and the Reasons that seem to serve them; and the affection of an ungovern'd and unsubjected freedom, is so universally natural in this state of Corruption, that it requires great Discipline to curb it. Naturally

Naturally Children do not willingly obey their Parents, nor Mankind God, nor any Superiors whatfoever, and tho' Institution, and Discipline, and Fear, do mollify the natural Aversion to Government in all the tractable Part of Mankind, yet infinite Numbers there are, that hate it as Craft and Usurpation, and the Plague of humane and natural Liberty, and are only reftrain'd by force or terrour to an external Quietness. Now this being fo, Is it easily supposible, that any free Number, without actual Force, or appetite of Robbery, and Domination over others, every one being of different Humours, and naturally eager for uncontroulable Liberty, and the major Part rude and uninstituted to, and uncapable of the fine Theories, that should recommend to them the form of a Civil Government, (which cannot be of a natural or common Notion, but the Device only of some Wife and Architectorick Heads) shou'd be able to conceilit the Felicities promis'd from a new Project, of which before they had no Idea, and upon fuch Conceptions, spontaneously part with all their alienable Rights, every

every fingle Man, to the Votes of a Majority? And that major Mob to a fingle Monarch or a few Optimates, to whose legislative and executive Powers, their Liberties, Fortunes, Limbs, and Lives must be subjected, and the Powers thus chosen arm'd with frength enough to keep them forcibly in that state of Subjection, and themselves disarm'd and disabled from getting out of it? You cannot get Two rational Men in a state of equal freedom fo to concede to each other, how much less so great a Multiude as is generally necessary to form and fustain a Civil Government. 'Tis true indeed, to make this look possible, you pretend that a few at first might agree upon a common Umpire; (Introd-6. 10. p. 8.) but as 'tis naturally unlikely, that even a few Freemen, being all lovers of Liberty, and of difcordant Inclinations, shou'd so accord to fuch a political Umpire; so a few are feldom of weight fufficient to Main Civil Polity, and to a fuch paucity, a state of natural Society is more eligible, while a Civil Constitution is not only impracticable, but might be even a Snare, and a certain Ruin to them. Nor will it mend, but marr this Pretence, that the supreme Governours, thus elected, may be obey'd, or depos'd by the Judgment of the Electors; for had this been true, they wou'd never have arm'd their Governours, and difarm'd themfelves, so that they are disabled, in fast, from calling the supreme Magistrate to account. Beside, the Mob do not force any Man to govern them, as appears in Jotham's Parable against the Men of Shechem and the House of Millo, Judg. 9. but invite him only, and fettle him by Contract. Now can it be suppos'd, that any Man wou'd accept a Civil Crown with those Thorns in it? Or a Mob retain that judiciary Power over him, without any mention of it in the Contract, in the mean while difarming themfelves of all probable and peaceable Capacities of calling him to Judgment? When Jepthah contracted with the Gileadites to be their Head, he did not expect, that after this Contract, the Gileadites shou'd Cut it off; and they join'd with him according to his Words, i. e. the true Intention of them, by the Oath of the Lord, Judg.

Judg. 11. 9, 10. Beside, if this be a fundamental Principle in Nature, for the universal and perpetual estate of Civil Societies, then, as in the Case of Election, so in the Power of popular arraignment of Soveraign Princes for Male-administration, it must be set in the first Tables of Government, acknowledg'd for a political Principle as well by all Soveraigns as People; and accordingly a peaceable form of practifing it without War, ought to have been provided among all Nations, all which have hitherto, and still do fubfift upon quite contrary Laws and Principles, and that expresly here in the Declarations and Statutes of this Kingdom. The Legislative Power here consists of King, Lords, and Commons, and the People have no civil Power of Revoking, or Cancelling their Acts; but if they have by the eternal and unalienable Right of Nature a Power to depose 'em, whenfoever the Mob judges their Laws contrary to the Ends of their Constitution, and that, fince it can't be done otherwise, by Insurrections, How can this Constitution safely, or many times, de jure, stand? I think there is nothing that cobnoxious to Forfeiture or Dissolution by popular Judgment; but if any Fault in Government cou'd render it so, 'twou'd be the permitting the Minds of the People to be Poison'd by such Books in the Impunity of the Authors and Promoters. And if any Governours in any State are ruin'd by their own Connivance at 'em, no Body will run Hazards to prevent their Fall, or perhaps pity it, how great and deplorable foever it may be.

Dem. You are not to think that I am to be fool'd out of this my most Sacred Principle, by so many Contextures of Pretences; but going on, I tell you, That Government, thus sounded upon my Principles of popular Equality, Right, and Constitution, continues also upon the same foot of Present Consent through all Successions, sufficiently express'd by their being willing to be protected in it, and to allow all that is necessary to that End. Introd. §. 9. p. 7. Chap. 9. §. 67. p. 375.

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biet. Resort to Laws, and Payment of Taxes, cannot be a form of free consent to, or Election of Government, or Governments, on a Right of natural Freedom and Equality, because where People are to subfift under a Civil Government before establish'd, such Acts are the Results of fubjecting Force and Necessity, not free Choice, and fuch as Captives, if permitted, wou'd fubmit and confent to, by Force and Fear, under those whose Throats they might lawfully Cut in Revenge of, or to their Deliverance from the Servitude. Otherwise why are Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity personally requir'd, and, if refus'd, punish'd? For they that refuse fuch Contract or Sponsions of Allegiance, do not think their Refort to the Laws, or Payment of Taxes, to be vertual and valid Confent or Obligation to fuch Allegiance, nor does the Government think it so neither, in that they further require an Oath. But then what shall be faid of all those that pay no Taxes, have no Business, or refort to the Laws, bear no Offices, and have made no forms of Confent or Con-

Contract, directly or constructively, in and under that Civil State where they dwell, Have the Civil Powers no Right of Authority over fuch Men? At this Rate almost all Poor Men, and Persons under Age, and Sojourners. will be in no state of Subjection. Befide, to require an Oath of Allegiance, Taxes, or any Obedience of any Man, as a Civil Duty, before any Act of the Person so charg'd directly or by implication, importing Confent or Contract to fuch Government, is Violence, Usurpation and Tyranny, which being to be afferted by the Civil Sword, may be refifted by the Sword of fuch as are like to fuffer the Violence. But to return again a little: No acts, that have not one and one only legal Construction, can be signs or evidences of that one only legal Construction, and therefore taking Benefit of the Laws, and Paying Taxes, are not legal Recognitions or Sponfions of Allegiance. For as this may be complied with on this only Intention, to secure, not subject ones felf; fo Enemies may do it, that they may unsuspected destroy that very Government, and those very Governours,

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vernours, to whom herein they fubmit. For Civil Governours, oppressively charging them with Allegiance without their confent, do, upon your Principle, War upon those Persons, and their natural and unfurrender'd Liberties; and therefore fuch Perfons, looking on themselves to be in a State of War with fuch oppressive Powers, may use these seeming Compliances under the feeble exigences of their Condition, as clancular Arts and Stratagems of War, by them, to get Opportunities of escaping or destroying the Tyrants, and this without breaking any formal or virtual Contract of Allegiance. And therefore, in Armies, Revolters are never intrusted with a Commission, on this bare virtual Prefumption, That the taking thereof is a Sponfion of Fidelity, but direct and strong Engagements upon Conscience are expresly requir'd; otherwise, by the Laws of War, fuch Revolters may betray that Side, to which they feem'd to Revolt, to that which they feem'd to Defert, without breach of Faith.

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Dem. 'Tis vain to object, that all the Parties cou'd not meet to give confent,

fent, since, if a sewlat first agreed on a common Umpire, 'twas sufficient, if others acknowledg'd an Authority so advantageous to them, and why they shou'd not at first come out of a State of Nature, as they still do, I can see no Reason. Men may as well argue, that no Language is of Institution, because we cannot suppose all Men met together, to adapt their Ideas to such founds, yet this depends only on the Agreement of such as speak any Language sirst, as of those that do it since Introd. §. 10. p. 8.

pier. The reason, why we result your Hypothesis, is not meerly because every consenting Subject does not, cannot meet at the Place of Election, but more, because Men that are born under a Civil State, are not in a natural estate of Equality, of Freedom and Power, unsubjected to those Powers, till they, without force, spontaneously subject themselves, but owe the duty of Allegiance before 'tis ask'd of the Governours, or engag'd by them, being in truth born civil Subjects of the State, as well as natural Subjects to their Parents. Nor will your account

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of the original Languages, which you fancy to be of the same form with the new Additions, maintain this your popular Original of Civil Government; Because 'tis neither true, nor parallel: First, not true; for the first one Language which Men spake, and therein communed one with another, was given to Adam by God, or if that shou'd be deny'd, yet Adam alone gave Names to all the Beafts of the Field, and Fowls of the Air, and his own Wife. When one Language of Men was confounded into very many, at Babel, 'twas not by Confederacy, but a Divine Stroke; because, while they had but one Speech, they had confederated against God; nor cou'd they retain the Unity of Language, nor avoid the variety of Dialects, by which they were scatter'd, fore against their Will, nto several Parts of the Earth, every Party joining with those of their own Dialect, and separating from the others, Gen. 11. Nay, if Men cou'd have he heir free desires herein, thy wou'd still beonsederate into one universal Lanthe uage and Character, to fave the into nite Drudgery and Expence of learnunt ig several Languages, for the benefit E 2

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of Commerce and Learning. On this ground of several Languages laid by God, particular Men have invented new Names to new Things and Discoveries, which others adopt into the common Language, not by Confederacy or Contract, but Imitation; the same falling in of course and fashion, without so much as the least form or imagination of any sederal Compact, Men still being at liberty to use or refuse, such or such Words, while they can express their Minds in others, which 'tis not lawful to do in Duties contracted.

Constitution of Monarchy do, in effect, acknowledge all other Governments owing to compact, the at the same time, they deny that method possible. Introd. §. 11. p. 8, 9.

ordain and create any form of Civil Government, if he please, without consent of the People, or any one Person in it; nay, and Men, upon just Causes, and the Laws and Consequences of just and successful Wars, may acquire

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quire a just Right to a new Government, yet upon such meer humane Revolutions, they cannot be formally fettled in a compleat and legal Title and Possession, but by a national Submission, Recognition and Contract, not always of every individual free Agent, Male and Female, or the majority of them, but the publick Councils, and Superiors of fuch People in fuch a Cafe. For fo on just Conquests, the Conquerors claim a Right to their Conquests, by the justice and success of their Arms, and will punish the conquer'd for Non-fubmission, and not giving them quiet Possession and compleat Title thereby in the new Conquests: In which State, forc'd Submission and Confent is not a free Election, whose Right stands in a natural equality of Power and Freedom, and makes the Conqueror obnoxious to popular Judgment. No Conqueror contracts, nor any conquer'd People dare to offer him fuch a form of Tenure, nor does he take their Submission as a Gift to him, but a Provision only for themselves, and their Security under his Dominion. All which changes are not, fine numine, and meerly within humane compass, E 3 but

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but are the issues of Divine Providence and Government over Mankind, so determining the counsels of Men, according to the Counsel of his Soveraign Will; and consequently, when such new Powers are submitted to, they must then be considered and obey'd, not only as a meer humane Constitution, as St. Peter, but a Divine Ordinance, as St.

Dem. Upon this my popular Foundation, no Governours were capable of more Power, than the People were capable of hurting them with, which no Person has over his Life and Limbs, but only over the Life and Limbs of others, on the Right and Duty of Selfpreservation and Preserence, and hence of Repairing and Punishing Injuries; from which natural Right upon others they recede in the choice of a Magistrate, who can no further punish than they could in a State of Nature, and this is my Scheme of the transference of temporal Power over Persons to the Magistrate,

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Magistrate. Introd. §. 13, 14, 15. p. 10, 11.

pier. On this Supposition, no Civil Governour has a Right to Press any Man as a Soldier, nor take away his Life or Limbs, for any Crime whatfoever. For, as no Man had a natural Power over his own Life and Limbs, fo neither had others over him, but only for their Self-preservation or Preference; and if every Man in a Nation shall be suppos'd in danger, if some others be not press'd to the Wars, or put to Death, Gr. for great Offences, and so every Man to have transferr'd the power of Pressing other Men Soldiers, and of capital Punishments over Malefactors, except themselves only, yet this can't be just or real Right, for fuch ought not to be oppos'd; whereas you fay, that every Man by the Law and Right of Nature, not only may, but must preserve himfelf to his utmost, as to Life and Limb, and has a Right and Duty to destroy all others, that shall attempt his Life, &c. tho' they do so on pretence of their Self-preservation; and if the Magistrate acts in their Name, Right, E 4

and Behalf against me, I, that in your State of Nature had a Right to destroy in my own defence all Attempters on my Life or Limbs, may by the same Right and Law of Nature destroy their Deputy, their Agent, the Civil Magistrate, tho' to the ruin of whole Nations (who are not of so near concern to me as my own Life and Limbs) and hereto may join what Forces soever I can get for my Preservation.

Dem. Well, for my part, I am not troubled at these Consequences; but am bold enough to own and magnify 'em. And now, by your leave, we'll consider the Magistrates Power in matters of Religion: Concerning which, I lay this preliminary Principle, That all Men under political Governments are born, and still are in a State of Nature in all fuch things, as they may practice without injuring one another, or the Society; but Magistrates have a Power in all matters of Religion, that concern the Welfare of the Society, and can therefore punish all Immoral Persons, and such as deny the Existence, Providence, Adoration and Honour of God, by any irreligious Acts,

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or Omissions, as Enemies actually injurious to the happiness of all Mankind, and such as might justly be punish'd by every Man in a State of Nature. Introd. §. 15, 16, 17, 18. p. 11, 12, 13.

hier. As to that extent of Natural Liberty which you affert to continue to every Man in a State of Civil Society, I shall pass it till we come to your more explicit declaration hereof; And shall grant you, and to the Magistrate, all those Penal Powers over the Sins you mention; but not meerly for those Reasons which you assign, nor those only Authorities which you ascribe: For first of all, in acts meerly Immoral or Irriligious, fuch as that of common Swearing, which you mention, the formal merit and ground of Civil punishment stands not in the injury, or meer injuriousness to the Publick or other Persons, but in their intrinsec turpitude and finfulness against God. As if a very good Man hears an ill Man alone by himself (excepting only this Audient) profanely Swearing or Curfing, This act does not injure the good Man, but inflames his Piety and Zeal;

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nor can it be injurious to any other, or the Publick, who heard it not. Yet on the Complaint of this good Man, the Magistrate punishes him either with the legal mulct, or, in defect of That, with the Stocks. Beside, if such profane practices be used openly, they no more injure the Publick than as they do particular Men, by giving the examples, which yet can injure none of any Religious Education or Sense herein, without their own voluntary imitation; and if none be actually infected by it, there is no actual injury, perfonal, or publick: Beside, an injury to the Publick is of fo great weight in the publick Wisdom, as is not usually expiated by a Shilling, or two. The Reason therefore is, because 'tis a sin against God, whose Ministers Civil Powers be, tho' the punishment be far too little for the sin, which the Law made fo flight, because many of them accumulated may make the punishment for all heavy, and this proportion may be fufficient to correct the practice with little People, for whose Reformation alone these Laws seem to be intended dimissis corvis. Beside, in acts injurious, the Powers confider not only

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only the Hurt done by facts in order to punishment, but the Intention by which they are done; and therefore if a Swearer, or Fornicator, &c. does not intend to hurt any Man, or the Publick thereby, he is to be acquitted, as not intending any injury to Man herein, how vile foever he is against God, for whom it feems no Civil Government is to be concerned any more than the fin against him affects our Temporals. But further, this Authority of the Magistrate over vicious or religious Immoralities is not founded on, or divided from every Man's punitive Authority over others for fuch Crimes in a meer state of natural Equality; for equals have no power to punish equals, but for Injury, or Intention of Injury to their personal selves, interests, or properties: For in fuch state all Men cou'd punish all Men for every the smallest Immorality, positive or defective, that neither hurts, or intends hurt to any Man but the Sinner, there wou'd be an univerfal Nemesis in form and pretence of Justice, raging in every Man's Heart and Hand, to the utter desolation of Men, and equal Society in a State of Mature. Befide, in this State State, every Man that punishes, must do it in displeasure at the provocation. Now, in acts of meer Immorality and Profaneness, if a Man be displeased at them, they can do him no injury, (as perhaps they were not intended to do) and then he has no Right to punish them; If he be pleased with them, then he thinks them not injurious to him, and so neither will in sact, nor can, upon such your principles of Natural Justice, punish them.

Dem. Well; however you and I are agreed, that in fuch Immoralities and Impieties the Magistrate has Power, tho' we differ as to the Reasons and Authorities on which it is exercis'd and claim'd. Let us now go on to other matters of Religion, that concern not civil or fecular Interests, of single Perfons, or publick Societies: And here my fundamental Rule is, That in meer speculative Points, and Modes of Wor-Thip and indifferent Rites, which Men generally have interwoven into their Religion, all are under an indispensable Obligation to follow the Dictate of their own Conscience, in all Religious Matters, which they judge agreeable

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to God's Will, and none cou'd make over this Right to the absolute dispofal of another, nor authorize the Magistrate to punish himself, or any other for fo doing, because this does no Man any Injury, which only in a State of Nature gives Right to punish; in which State as to these matters all Men still are, and 'tis impossible Men shou'd ever submit to Government. but with an intent of being protected in this natural Right, as well as in any other matter. A Disturber which Right in a State of Nature, might justly have been treated as a common Enemy, and fo are they that obey the Commands of any Magistrate to deprive any Man's Life, Liberty or Property on that account, as much as if they had done it without his Commission. Introd. §. 19. p. 14, 15.

Pier. If there be any such thing as Religion, and binding the Conscience, it must be true, sounded by God, either in the Law of Nature, or Revelation. All things else, that are imagined as Principles or Offices in their own Nature Religious, are Dreams or Impostures, and such as,

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de jure, are not to be interwoven by any Men into their Religion, and confequently no Speculations can lay an indispensable Obligation upon Conscience, that are not clearly founded in the common Nature, and effential Reasons of things, or, in fact, prescrib'd by God's publick and indubitable Institution. For if Religion, in all Speculations not affecting the Civil Society, consists in Mens particular Conceptions, not tied to any publick Rule of Divine Original, then Truths and Falshoods both may be Principles of Religion, and the same Practices Sacred and Profane, and yet all, or none acceptable to God. Now, pray Sir, please you to expedite me out of this difficulty: For if no Religion, not affecting Civils, be acceptable to God, how hath every Man a Natural Right to weave his Speculations and Practices into a form of Religion for himself, and when he has fo done, how comes he bound in Conscience to maintain them, and that meerly in order to please God? Or if all such Religious Speculations and Practices please him, then both Truth and Error in point of Speculation, and Practices morally contrary

trary in point of Piety, must be equally acceptable to him. The Faith, and the Denial of the Trinity, Incarnation, and all the parts of the Creed (excepting perhaps the Being and Unity of God) being internal Theories or Principles only, not affecting Civil Society meerly as fuch; the many quite contrary Notions of God's Essential Attributes, and his Determinations in matters of his Honour and Glory, and our Eternal concernments, among many Persons in all Nations, that have had any Notions or Forms of Religion, (to enumerate Instances of which wou'd be an endless task) and the quite contrary moral Practices in Prayers, and Thanksgivings, as well as Rites and Mysteries, Good and Bad, Divine and Devilish, must be all equally grateful to God, nay, and be required by him, by the Law of Nature and Natural Conscience, of every Man according to his fancy, if that fancy bind the Conscience, tho' contrary to all the Principles of real Truth or Piety, Natural or Revealed, if perhaps you'll allow that there are any fuch. For upon your Principles, neither the common Law of Nature, or any Divine Infti-

Institution in Theories, Matters, and Practices Religious, not in their own nature affecting Civils, or Secular Interests, can oblige any Man's Conscience against his own Imaginations, and confequently are not in their own Nature, and delign Laws to any Man's Conscience, but only meer Arguments or Perswasives at the utmost: But every Man's Fancy is the Law of his Conscience, which, for the Reasons above given, cannot be the Law of God the Author of Nature, and the only Object of Religion. From whence I argue, Tnat if the Magistrate has no Authority in any matters Religious, that are not also Civil, yet that want of fuch Authority is not founded on these false Principles, nor to be proved by them. But there are Reasons however on other grounds, more than can be gainfaid, for the Magistrates limited Right in the Civil Conduct of Religion, in matters that in their own nature do not affect Civils: For first of all, Parents and Tutors, &c. have a Right and Duty of Educating their Children in true Principles of Religion, which only concern their Spiritual and Eternal welfare, and to punish them cor-

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corporally for their obstinacy against their Institutions, tho' the Children have perhaps imbibed other Notions, and pretend Conscience therefore for them, against the Instructions of their Parents, Tutors, &c. and the Magifliate may as well have the fame, especially in Children, that for want of Parents, fall to the Care of the State, and this not only among common Subjects, but Princes of the Blood, Nobles, &c. For as Parents are charged by the Laws of God and Nature, to take care of the Souls of their Children, and some Principles of Religion, that are not Civil, are absolutely necessary to inform their Souls in order to an acceptable Piety; fo Magistrates may well have the same Care, and confequently the fame Authority over their Subjects at least, and upon the fame foundation, that both Parental and Civil Authority are from and for God, and for the welfare of Mens Souls as well as Bodies. Nor will it avail to fay and object, that Magistrates may hereby impose a false Religion, and, even in the inforcement of the true, act tyrannically upon the Body, and against Mens Consciences. For so Parents and Tutors may do too, and

and yet still they have such Power as I have described. And if you ask what remedy then the Subject shall have? answer the same that Children; meek and patient Submission here, and Eternal Life in recompence hereafter. But you'll fay, What it the Tyranny of Princes or Parents corrupt the Minds of their ignorant Subjects with false Principles? First, according to your Rules, that can't hurt them, while the Errors are agreeable to their Imaginations and Conscience; Secondly, This Danger is not greater, and perhaps not near so great or certain, as the general Barbarity and Ignorance that wou'd follow upon an universal neglect in Parents and Magistrates, of Religious Education of their Subjects, not only by Instruction, but proper Chastisement, without which, Religious Admonitions and Instructions wou'd meet with no entertainment but Contempt, which neither Parents nor Magistrates ought to permit uncorrected. In all which, I desire to be understood upon your Supposition, That there is no Church, nor Hierarchy of Divine Institution for the Conduct of Religion; for then, fince it wants publick Instruction,

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feren fpect but struction, and that wants publick Conduct, and publick Conduct Chastisement, these publick Offices and Authorities cou'd alone belong to the Civil Magistrate. But because Religion wants a more excellent and Spiritual Institution and Conduct than that of Civil Powers, God for the conduct of Christianity added Hierarchical Powers, without any diminution of any Civil Authorities belonging to all Princes in matters of Religion antecedently to Christianity.

Dem. The Magistrates Power reaches not unto things indifferent; for then he might deprive People of all Liberty, even in their private and Family concern, in which they not only have free Right, but to form what Clubs or Meetings they please, for business or pleasure, which, the Publick susteining no damage, the Magistrate cannot hinder without manifest injustice or breach of Trust. Intr. §. 20. p. 15, 16.

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non, bier. I suppose here you take Indifference, not for an indifference in respect of Moral or Religious Matters, but of Worldly Interests of States and F 2 fingle

fingle Persons. With regard to which, we must observe, that some Rights are unalienable from particular Subjects, and the alienation of fuch can't be necessary to the subsistence or welfare of the Publick: Others are alienable for the benefit of the Publick, and by consequence of the Person from whom they are a nated, as Taxes, &c. Whether you reckon these Rights indifferent because alienable, I cannot tell, but certainly in fuch the Supreme Magistrate has Authority for the pubblick Good, of which the Legislative is the highest, nay, only Legal and Authoritative Judge. But in those Clubs and Meetings for business or pleasure, which you call Indifferent, the Magistrate may allow, or restrain, tho' he might have permitted them without damage to the Publick, as appears by granting, or denying, Charters for Corporations, Fairs, Markets, Licenses for Trades, Shews, Plays, Oc. and by the severe restrictive discipline of feveral Heathen Nations, as the antient Persians, Spartans, Romans, &c. But however, forbearing to urge you further herein, How wou'd you apply this to the Subject matter of Speculaeli . tions

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tions and Practices in Religion, that are not also Civil?

Dem. Allthings are to be reckoned Indifferent, which the Good of the Society will permit to remain uncertain, and undetermined, and such are all modes of Worshipping God, in all which the Magistrate is obliged to protect the Subjects Liberty. Intr. §. 20. p. 16.

pier. All Modes of Worshipping God according to every Man's Will, are not to be always by natural Right or Law allow'd or protected by the Civil Magistrate: For not only the Sense and Practice of all Nations is against this claim, and so shews it not to be a Dictate of Natural Right common to all Mankind; but the Divine Laws also oppose it, which will be of force with all but Infidels. All Modes of Mystick Worship, but the Levitical, were prohibited by Moses his Law; and by the Gospel the Levitical Modes are prohibited to all Christians. And what is prohibited by God, the Magistrate cannot be bound to protect, tho' otherwife in its own Secular tendency not inconfistent with the Civil good of the Society. Society. Nay, if he oppose what God has prohibited, then I suppose, they, that serve the Magistrate herein, are not to be treated as the common Enemies of Mankind, for infringing this Natural Right of yours, which God himself by his own Laws, either denies or cancels, while they hinder Jews, Mahometans, Pagans from setting up their Standard and Flag of Defiance openly against the Christian Religion.

Dem. In truth, Sir, I must tell you, that my Sentiments are, that such Power of the Magistrate is not only inconsistent with the Natural Rights of Mankind, but God's Honour too. Introd. § 21. p. 16.

God acted against his own Honour, and the Good of his People Israel, in establishing the Levitical Law with such strong penal Sanctions to be executed by the Magistrate, which can never be supposed to have been done by him, either through ignorance or design, to the dishonour of his Majesty.

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D'M. Whatsoever might be oeconomically done to the Jews under that State of Bondage, which their stiff Neck might then for a time make necessary, yet the other generality of Mankind, being free from that yoke, were, and still are in a state of Religious Liberty, to be led only by ingenuous methods of perswasion. And therefore God (who commands not impossibilities) only requires of us an impartial Examination, and acting agreeably in order to his acceptance. Introd. §. 21. p. 16.

pier. Well! It feems that God does require of Man an impartial Examination! But I pray of what? Is it of Speculations and Rules of Practice, which Men do, or wou'd interweave into Religion, which do not affect our Civil Interests? And if so, (or 'tis not to the purpose) Must every Man impartially examine all such Religions, that ever have been, and are, or all such as he has or may hear of, or whose Principles he may be acquainted with? Or all such as may be proposed to him by any Acquaintance whatsoever? You fay,

fay, God commands not Impossibilities; and therefore, fince every fingle Man cannot by his own Faculties and Sense (which is his only Rule with you) make fuch Examination all his Days, 'tis impossible God shou'd command it. Befide, By what Law does God command it? By the Law of Nature, or Revelation? Let that be affign'd to convince us; for if it be not as clear to me as my Senses, I must examine impartially this Point also, before I affent whether there be any fuch Laws of God. The Direction of the Apostles to whole Churches, jointly to prove all things, and cleave to that which is good, was grounded on a publick Test and Rule of Goodness given by God.

And the like trial of the several Spirits in St. John's time, pretending contrary Rules of Faith, had a Divine Rule to judge and to proceed by, I John 4. 1, 2, 3. And those publick Tests were to over-bear private Inventions, which therefore, being condemn'd by the Apostles, cannot be made the Laws of a Religious Conscience. And prophecy therefore (one Rule to prove Christianity by) was not

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of private impulse, nor ought to be wrested with private Interpretation, 2 Pet. 1. 20. The Word of God, and true Religion, being publick Lamps of Light, to illuminate those that sit in Darkness; by the certain Principles of which, all oppofiteErrors are prefently discover'd with ordinary diligence and help; whereas, if Man be left without any publick Test to his own meer Examination and Judgment, he may entangle, but can never settle, or fix his Mind; witness the Doubts of the most refin'd Philofophers about the future State, and the Ends of Good and Evil. How much more then must the untutour'd Multitude be eternally bewildred, if there be no Light from God to inform them? So that this pretended Examination of Religions by a fingle Man's meer natural Faculties of Reason, seems prescrib'd under a salse colour, to infer fecretly, That Men that are not able by their own natural Intellectuals, to examine, nor confequently capable thereby to attain to any certainty in fuch Points of Religion, may throw 'em all off, and be of none but the Civil, and that in external compliance only, in all those Parts of it which in their private Opinion

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Opinion they think not good. But fince you do not make it appear, that God any where requires fuch personal Examination, How can any Man believe he does, when 'tis impossible? And then here comes in place for believing by the Law of Nature, that Traditionary Religion, that pleases me best, since God has given me no Rule to chuse a better: and whether it be true or false, it matters not, for it cannot hurt me, fince that Religion that pleases me best, (without impartial Examination, when I am not capable for it) is the Rule of my Conscience, tho' it be never so Idolatrous, and mix'd with the Worship of Devils, and fo cannot dislodge me out of God's Favour. And had this been true, then the Devil (supposing there be one with his Legions) was a Fool to tempt Adam, or Mankind into any Errors in Religion, or to raife up Persecutions against Christians, to frighten them into other Religions, that thereby the roaring Lyon might devour them; for this Labour must be all loft, fince none of his Delufions to the belief of lyes, could shock their Security in the Divine Favour. And had this been true, there had been no need

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world, nor force it to convert Infidels, who being fafe in their Infidelity, could not be tempted to quit it for Perfecutions, in a Religion no more beneficial than their Heathenism. And by the same Reason, in vain, did Men affect a Reformation from Popery, or condemn it as dangerous or damnable for its Spiritual and Speculative Errors.

Dem. What then must a Man take up any Religion (as suppose the Religion of his Country) without impartial Examination?

pier. No: For in whatsoever Religion he has been bred in his Pupillage, it ought to be his perpetual study and consideration more and more, as his inquisitive Faculties grow; and then as far as he can examine, he is to search these two things, Whether its moral Principles be pure in their Nature; and secondly, Whether they and its Mysteries of Faith and Practice were, in sact, of Divine Revelation, and enjoin'd to the Use and Benefit of that Nation to which he belongs, and this made evident by credible Proofs of which there

there can be no contradiction, in sact : For all Religions have pretended to these two Tests. Now if a Man has Capacities to judge of both these, or but the latter of them (by which the former will be confirm'd) he will find the Christian Religion only to have those two Properties attestable to it, and so must in Conscience embrace it; but if a Man cannot thus examine the Religion in which he was instituted, after all ferious and devout Studies, and to errs, the Councels of God herein are a great Abyss, and to them we must leave the final Issue of that Man's state, being fecure that there is no unrighteoufness with God.

Dem. Now to engage Men to such impartial consideration, Religion ought to be without any Civil Rewards and Punishments, since they are Bribes and Aws, to hinder such Examination; and the Magistrate therefore, is religiously to treat all his Subjects alike, how much soever they differ from him, and one another, in these matters; otherwise he tempts them to chuse their Religion inconsiderately, or hypocritically, or otherwise exposes them

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to fuffer for Conscience, or provokes them to defend their natural Right herein by Arms, of which they cannot rightly be deprived by any Humane Power. Introd. §. 21. p. 16, 17.

Dier. Now if this be an eternal Rule for all Magistrates to observe at their Peril, it must be in the first Table of Jus Gentium, and the fame not meerly the refult of common agreement in Usage, but a Divine Law, natural or positive, to all Nations as Nations, and yet we do not find that ever any Nation practic'd it, or so much as dream'd of it, as a general Rule of Civil Polity. Beside God, as the Political Soveraign of the Children of Israel, promis'd and threaten'd them great temporal Bleffings and Curfes, (of which fee for an Abstract, Deut. 28.) for Obedience and Disobedience, as well to the Levitical Parts of the Law (by which their Sins were expiated from the temporal Guilt of those Curses, and themselves preferv'd in God's federal favour) as to other Parts thereof. And this God faw to be necessary for the Temper of those his Subjects in general; not that thereby he intended, that his Bleffings or Curfes

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Curses should make them negligent in the Study of their Religion, or Hypocrites in its Profession, for the Goodness and Justice of God(and of a Magistrate too) ought not to be impeach'd by the ill Use that Wicked Men perversly make thereof, while Good Men do gratefully taste, acknowledge, and admire the Benefit of it, to the publick Interest, and, That of all that are concern'd for true Religion, without meriting the Rebellion of ungodly Villains.

Dem. Well! But now you shall see how civil I can be in my Concessions herein, in the behalf of Religion. I grant you therefore, that Atheistical Principles, destroying Conscience, cannot claim Liberty of Conscience: And shou'd an Atheist plead Confcience for any Acts or Professions of his Principle, that are, or may be injurious to the Society (as in corrupting them to no Conscience) yet, as Men in a State of Nature had a Right to defend themfelves herein, so the Magistrate may defend them by a Power with which herein the People have intrusted him. Tho' fuch a Conscience of an Atheist,

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on supposition it had done its best to be rightly inform'd, wou'd be innocent before God. But in truth, without Injury, the Civil Magistrate is to use no force, where Conscience is not concern'd, much less where it is.

Dier. Tho' an Atheist can have no Conscience toward God, yet he may pretend, nay, and fancy, that he has an ingenuous regard to all Truth, even of his very Atheism, (like Vaninus) and to all Honesty, and the Love of all Mankind, according to the rational Obligations of Humanity, and especially to those of his own Country, and a virtuous Life, and this he may look upon as a Principle of Conscience, sufficient for himself or any Man else, and thereupon to be in as equal regard with the Magistrate, as the greatest Religionists; his Atheism so profess'd, not corrupting others out of all Conscience, but binding them to that form, and those measures of it, which himself observes as Sacred, and which oblige to Innocence and Justice, to all Civil Interests of every Man, and the publick Society. And a profess'd Atheism so confin'd and observ'd, doing no Civil Injury,

Injury, is free, by your Principles, from the Rods or Ax of the Magistrate. And well he may, if God shall judge that Conscience innocent, in which he has finally fettled upon his utmost and impartial Examination, which, it feems, justifies all Men before God, not only in Speculations and Usages interwoven by Men into their Religions, but even in the groffest Principles of univerfal and absolute Irreligion. Such, for footh, are the Rights of the Christian Church, to share all the Benefits of God and Man (and Ecclefiastical Communion therefore) with the rankest Atheists.

Dem. To suppose that the Magistrate has a Right to promote Truth by force, must suppose that he has a Right to determine for his Subjects what is Truth. Introd. §. 24. p. 19.

pier. The first thing that I shall do in answer to this Argument, is to deny the Consequence, and secondly, to consider the Power of the Magistate, in promoting Truth by force. First then, I deny this Consequence, because Truth

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Truth is a fixed unchangeable matter of Principle, or Fact, and feats it felf in the Intellectual faculty of all that know it, and is expressible only in Categorical Propositions Affirmatively or Negatively; But acts of Force, as fuch, are the fudden, transient, mutable, and arbitrary operations of the Will, terminated on an exterior passive Subject. But because Examples more easily move us than abstract Theories, I will give one clear Instance: Tis not in the Magistrates Power indifferently to determine for his Subjects whether there be a God or no, and fo establish Atheism for a Truth; but yet he may, in fact, punish the profession of Atheism, or forbear; for at present we are not concerned in the question of Right. And by Parity of Reason, the same will hold true of other Truths as publickly certain and important, not alterable by the Will of Friends or Enemies, tho' Princes themselves shall affert or persecute them. But I will not content my felf with this clear and full refutation of your Principle herein; but shall proceed further to enquire into the Magistrates Power of promoting Truth by force. And here I take it for granted, that

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that the Thuths intended are fuch as concern Conscience; for as to all, or any other Truths fo to be inforced, I hippose no Magistrate claims fuch a Righty because it is not necessary even for himself to know, profess, or promore them; not to surge, that this is naturally impossible to be effected, and confequently enforced. Now Truths, that cohbern the Confeience, are discovered manifeftly by God, and required to be lacknowledged as Principles, by which all our Practices in Piety, and Morals are to be guided; they therefore, that Aafter fuch Divine manifesta. tion, do refuse to admit, or do oppose thele Truths, 11 do fin against God, either wilfully evorathrough ignorance arising from some compre and vicious prejudice, each of which deserves puniffmedon That of Hubberness paradismedical; that of such ignorance correctory penishment. But then the que-Rion is, Who shall have Right to inflict in Mand first, Vis certain God may by himself, or his Ministring Spirits, thus punish such Sins. And why then may he not commission a Civil Magistrate to do the same, as he certainly did within his own Theocracy and the Chil.

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Children of Ifrael, and this as well against offending Strangers, as Natives or Proselytes? of which there is no need to quote particulars, fince 'tis one of the greatest designs of all the Law and the Prophets. 'Tis not therefore against the Law of Nature simply and univerfally, that Magistrates should promote Truths pertaining to Conscience, by punishing the Resusers or Oppofers of them, fince it may be done by Divine Commission. Now the question may be, Whether any other Magistrates, not having such an express Law, or positive particular Commission from God to this very purpose, can of Right use the same Power? And indeed upon your popular Principles they cannot, where Civil Interests are not njured or opposed. But if we believe he Scriptures, That by God King's Reign, and are his Ordinance and Miifters, and are therefore called Gods, y deriving their Powers from him, nd not by being made Gods by the ts, cople, (to whom they are accountale, and by whom deposible and puen giishable, according to your Maxims) nly hen 'tis not improbable, but they the by punish the Refusers or Opposers hil.

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of those Principles of Conscience revealed by God, without an express and positive Commission from Him, by vertue of their general Soveraign Au-'Tis recorded to the praise of thority. Nebuchadnezzar, that he made a Decree, That every People, Nation, and Language, which shou'd speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach. Meshach, and Abednego, shou'd be cut in pieces, and their Houses made a Dunghil, Dan. 3. 29. And to the praise of Darius the Mede, that he made a Decree, That in every Dominion of his Kingdom, Men shou'd tremble, and fear before the God of Daniel, Dan. 6. 26. And those Decrees were penal even to an arbitrary degree And to the praise of another Dariu the Persian, who having made provi fion, that at Jerusalem Sacrifices and fweet Savours might be offered unto the God of Heaven, with Prayers to the Life of the King and his Sons made a Decree, That who foever shou' alter this Word, Timber shou'd b pulled down from his House, and him felf Hanged thereon, and his Hou made a Dunghil, Ezra. 6. 10, 11. An to the praise of Artaxerxes, in h Com

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Commission to Ezra, that he made a Decree, That whatsoever was Com-manded by the God of Heaven (for the Service of God at the Temple of Jerusalem now to be restored) shou'd be diligently done, that there might not be Wrath against the Realm of the King, and his Sons; and that whosoever wou'd not do the Law of God, and of the King, Judgment shou'd be executed speedily upon him, either to Death, or Banishment, Confiscation, or Imprisonment, Ezra 7. 23, 26. And yet none of these Kings made these penal Decrees by particular Precept from God, but by the internal Right of their Soveraignty, and for fear least a neglect in obeying the Will of God shou'd expose them, their Sons, and Realms to the Wrath of God. That Idolatry is in its own nature, de jure, punishable by the Magistrate, was a Principle of Primitive Piety, if Job be a competent Author, who, in the vindication of his own Integrity, among other things, thus expresses himself: If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in brightness, and my Heart hath been secretly enticed, or my Mouth kissed my Hand, Hand, This were an iniquity to be punished by the Judge; for (mark that) I shou'd have denied the God that is above, Job 31. 26, 27, 28. And that Judge of the fame Order and Nature with those Judges, v. 11. who were to punish Adultery, and therefore Secular. And as the same Causes do equally concern, oblige, and empower all Soveraign Powers to pron ete such important Points of Conscience by coercive force, fo have they the fame to suppress all professions of Religion in Principles or Practice, that have not a Publick Testimony of a Divine Authority and Establishment, because no-thing can be matter of Religion or Religious Conscience, but what has fuch Ground and Evidence. Therefore when new Opinions fet up for Religion in a State, the Magistrate may require them to prove, not the Philosophical Truth of their Opinions, but, in fact, God's Constitution of them for Principles of Natural, or Revealed Religion; and every party fo challenged, is bound to give an answer to all that ask a Reason of the hope that is in them, with meekness and fear, 1 Pet. 3. 15. as St. Paul did before Agrippa and Festus,

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Festwo, Acts 26 Ant St. Peter and St. John, to the Jewish Sanhedrim, Atts 4. And if that can't be done by the most calm, publick, fair, exquisite and impartial discussion of fact, upon a certain Publick Test and Rule, the Magistrate may suppress 'em for want of fuch Test, as well as any other Cheats. But such Doctrines as are evident Laws of God for the Conduct of the Conscience in matters of Religion, and upon a fair Hearing and Trial by fuch Test, in fact, appear, without all possible contradiction, fo to be, the Magistrate has no Right to refuse, much less to punish; but if he, in fact, does so, the injury must be born with all the vertues of a meek and passive Submission, which as it is the most glorious part of Piety, so for the Sanctifying us, and the Church thereby, it is, that God exposes Piety to Persecution, that the Glory of God may be exalted in our Sufferings, and the World thereby be bow'd down into Conviction. And if Men turn Hypocrites to avoid Persecution, 'tis a fin against God, but will not impeach the true Power of the Magifrate, nor the Laws of God requiring G

us to fuffer Persecution, and not to play the Hypocrite for a base and cowardly Fear thereof. And so we neither Preach up Persecution on one side, nor Rebellion on the other, to merit the Character of the greatest Villains, and the greatest Punishment, to which you excite the Mob and Magistrate against us. §. 2.

Dem. All these Pretences, how specious foever from your Scriptures, yet are in the Reasons of things superfluous and needless, and consequently vain and false, there being no need of any more Power than what I have laid down, to answer all the Ends of Government, even such as are pretended Ecclefiastical. For when the Good of the Society requires it, the Magistrate my cut off any one, either Lay or Clergy, from all Church communion, by Banishment, Imprisonment, or Death, and oblige any of his Subjects to ferve his Country where there is no Christian Church, to fight for his Country against Men of his own Church and Religion, fo that the Church can have no Independent Powers in the State, the Magiftrate. ftr M fhi

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strate having as much Power over Men, when met together for the Worship of God, as when met on other Accounts. Introd. §. 25. p. 20.

bier. I do deny that the Magistrate can have these Powers upon your popular Principle, that he has no more Power over any fingle Person, than what that fingle Person, or others, as fingle, gave the Magistrate over him in their Political Coalitions. For in a State of Nature no Man can be fuppos'd to engage his Life in War for others, and to be press'd thereto, while others, that engage as far as he, are connived at, and permitted in partial Favour to stay at home; nor had any others in a State of Nature any Power to oblige him fo to do; against the Exercise or Attempts of which he might not lawfully defend himself by force of Arms, and destroy the Tyrants; what then he might thus do in defence against Presses in a State of Nature, he may still do upon your Schemes against the Magistrate, who is herein a Deputy only to Tyrants in the Exercise of Tyranny. In these Rights therefore, the Magistrate

must have a better Title, and the same therefore Divine. And fuch as that is, will not yet reach all the Ends of Ecclesiastical Government, whose regular Acts do bind and loofe, are ratify'd to Spiritual Effects upon the Soul in the Court of Heaven; of which more in due Place. I own however, that the Magistrate's Power extends to us even in our Sacred Affemblies, where a greater Instance of Piety to the Publick requires it, as on sudden Fires, Invasions, &c. for in fuch Exigences, there is more Religion in Mercy than in Sacrifice; tho' you wou'd exempt your voluntary Clubs of Mob-worship from the Magistrate's Power, in which you fay, "The Magistrate is so far from ha-"ving a Right to disturb them, that " he is oblig'd to fecure them from all " manner of Harm, (whatsoever their Religious Modes of Worship and Principles be) "as long as they do nothing " prejudicial to the Publick; but much " more so, if their Meetings tend to " promote the general Good, as Men's " affembling to Worship God accord-" ing to their Consciences does. Which, if 'twou'd hold true, (as 'twill not) would

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wou'd much more be true of Assemblies divinely instituted, for a Worship divinely instituted.

Dem. In some sense the Magistrate's Power feems greater over the Church than other Societies, since he requires no more of these, than that they entertain no Principles destructive of the publick Good; but in the Church he is to see, that all Doctrines that make for it, be to the utmost inculcated. and for that End may Ordain, or Authorize Ministers publickly to instruct his Subjects to avoid all fuch things as he has a Right to restrain by preventing force; and to practice all fuch as he ought to encourage by suitable Rewards; nay, to mind him as well as his Subjects of their mutual Duties, and the Motives, and Reasons of them, and this without vesting these Monitors in any Jurisdiction; and the same he may deprive, depose, or silence on neglect, or Breach of their Duty. Introd. 9. 26. p. 21.

Dier. Here, Dr. Demas, I wou'd fain know what you mean by the Church; a Sacred Society of a Divine Founda-

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Foundation, or a voluntary meeting of any who Will to any Worship of God according to Conscience? The former Notion your profess'd Principles of Infidelity abominate, and in the latter Notion, the Magistrate cannot enforce any Man to inculcate his politick Principles in such a Mobbish Church, because they are free in those Meetings, and if they admit any Teacher, he is to be of their own chusing, who they, and every one of 'em, may defert every minute, and break up their Meetings at every moment, and therefore in them he can neither ordain any Man to inculcate any Instructions in their Assemblies, nor deprive the Teacher they chuse, for Disobedience herein to the Injunctions of the Magistrate. But if you mean, the Magistrate may Assemble Subjects, and appoint Doctors of Civil Polity to teach these your petty Principles of Government, you can't call these Churches, except there be fome Worship of God, beside these Politick Instructions; but if there be any fort of Worship in them, no Man is bound in Conscience to attend them by the Command of the Magistrate, gistrate, but rather ought to disobey such a Command, as a Violation of his Rights, and a Force upon Conscience, against which he may, according to your pernicious Principles, defend himself by force of Arms.

Dem. But you have not seen my Sting yet, but now you are like to seel it: For upon these Grounds the Magistrate may dock the Riches of the Ministers when contrary to the Civil Interest, &c. Introd. §. 16. p. 21.

bier. What! the Riches gotten by the Gift of Mob-Church to their chosen Ministers! for ours being no Church with you, our Ministers are not concern'd in it. But if we gain this Point, that ours is a Church, That will make our Clergy its due Ministers, and that upon the same Divine Foundation as that of our Church, whatfoever becomes of our Wealth. I will not therefore infift on the Sacred Title the Church has in her Endowments, nor shew a piece of Priest-craft in Tragical Declarations against Sacriledge, but let us have fair Play, and the common Equity of other Men, Orders, and Societies. The Church

Church therefore, as it subsists in this Nation, is either lawful, or unlawful, in respect of the Laws of God and Nature; If unlawful by any of those Laws, it ought to be utterly, and for ever extinguish'd; If lawful, then have we as good a Right in those Tenures, in which the Laws of the Land have fettled us, as any other Orders, Subjects, or Corporations in England have; and then, if the Civil Magistrate may Dock our Estates, when excessive, and thereby injurious to the Publick in his Opinon, so he may then exercise the like Power over the excessive Estates of the Laity, tho' neither, I fear, upon your fundamental Principles of fuppos'd popular Surrendry, nor on the better Bottom of natural Equity, the fundamental Reafons of Civil Society, nor the Maxims of the Jus Gentium, our great and other Domestick Charters, &c. all which wou'd be totally rip'd up and destroy'd by fuch Practices, by which no Man could be affur'd in any real or perfonal Estate or Title. If therefore there be Mortmains to prevent our growing more rich, so be it; but what Law has lawfully fettled, cannot

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legally be judg'd excessive, and for that cause be taken away without injury and danger to all Mens Titles.

Dem. But I shall not easily quit my hold, but further tell you, That the Good of the Society being the only Reason of the Magistrates Power over Mens Properties, there appears no reafon, why he shou'd deprive his Subjects of them, to maintain fuch Opinions as have no tendency that way; to which, as no Man, entring into Society, can be supposed to consent to maintain useless Opinions, and fuch as he may think prejudicial to his Soul; so no one, having Power over the Property of others, cou'd, on any fuch account, give their Representatives a greater Power than themselves had. The Legislature may as well choose these Speculative Opi-nions for them, as impose their Main-tenance on the Labours of the People, to the advancing of Superstition, if not in all, yet in most parts of the World, this being the Cause of so many Sects, by which Truth and Humanity are almost extinct among Christians,

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Christians, it being no where so in Opinions, wherein the Clergy have no Interest. Intr. §. 26, 27. p. 22, 23.

pier. After so many foils given you in our political Struggles, you must not think that in this you'll escape better. And therefore I reply, That as no Magistrate, or Person, can of Right protect by force any Religion, but what is real, and that reality evident from Divine Authority, in fatt, undeniable, and not formed only by Mens opinionative conceptions, fo has he no Right to exact Maintenance of his Subjects for the Ministers of any Opinion under colour of Religion, but for those alone that are Ministers of that only Religion, which God has ordained and promulged to the World, and they, that are fet apart from all other worldly Business or Interests, but this one only of ferving Societies in the Conduct and Institutions of such a Religion, are to be maintain'd by those whom they serve herein, the Voice of natural Equity, the Examples and Intimations in the Law of Moses, the Ordinance of Christ, and the Testimonies of St. Paul.

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at large Dr. Potter, Chap. V. p. 415;

to 443.

But to argue with you a little on your own Principles: Suppose a few free Persons in a State of Nature think fuch Principles of Faith concerning a future State of Eternal Rewards and Punishments, and other like Points necessary, and that the internal Grace of God is necessary to instruct our Minds, and quicken our Affections in matters of Vertue and Justice, and an especial Providence as necessary to fecure us against the Delusions of all Tempters, Visible or Invisible, and to restrain our Actions, or deseat their Effects, when they are inclining to Evil; and that without fuch Divine Care, Men cannot be limited to any Offices of Peace, Justice, or Charity, either in a State of Nature, or Civil Society, and in all publick Worship, whether Voluntarily or Instituted, such Grace is to be Pray'd for, or else not rationally to be expected. And upon such certain perswasions of their own, they enter into Civil Society with this Compact, That the Supreme Magistrate shall provide Persons to incultate these Doctrines, and institute them mes H

into the Hearts, Senses and Consciences of the People, by publick Sermons and Catechifins, as Principles fundamentally necessary to Moral Virtue, and the fe-And for a perlicities of a Social Life. petual maintenance and fupply of fuch an Order, the same Supreme Magistrate shou'd, by a Legislative as well as Executive Power, Tax every particu'ar Estate, Real and Personal, proportionably and for ever, and every Subject be determined by fuch Taxation: This in the first Consociators (every one severally compacting) could be no injury to themfelves; nor can it be supposed capable of being so to their Issues and Posterities, for whose felicity they provided on these fundamental terms of Confociation. And as for Strangers, that shou'd joyn themselves to them, it cou'd be no wrong; for if they cou'd not like the Conditions of Coalition, they might e'en let'em alone, and abide as they were. Supposing then such a State so founded to have prospered, and the particular Subjects to have gotten good Estates, each Man according to his Care and Succefs, and fo to have continued for an Age, or more; and then fome wanton Deifts shou'd arise up among 'em, and com-

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complain, that this Taxation for the maintenance of fuch Speculations out of Mens Estates and Labour, who do not believe 'em, is a breach of the original Liberties of Mankind, who cannot be supposed to subject their Estates to maintain any Religious Speculations which they themselves do not like, or no longer than they do like them; and that therefore the same Magistrate is to cancel all fuch Laws and Provisions, or be defroy'd as a Traytor and Enemy to the Society; Must this be allow'd 'em? If 6, then first the supreme Magistrate must dissolve the Society, by destroying that Fundamental on which it was built, which yet he cannot de jure, be bound 0, except there be fome intrinfic evil in the Constitution, which I believe is not pleadable here on any pretence of any Right, Reason, or Conscience. int, no Subject is supposed hereby bound inder Penalty, to Believe and Profess hese Truths, which the publick Wisom teaches only, and recommends ithout force. Well! but how then an it confist with Liberty of Conscience Tax my Estate to maintain Doctors ad Speculations which I do not believe? ery well; because by the Benefit and Fa-H 2

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Favour of the Civil Powers fo confociated, I, or my Predecessors got this E. state, which they wou'd never have permitted me, or my Predecessors to have acquired, or enjoy'd under their tutelar Care and Protection, but on condition of Taxing it to all fuch Charges, as the first Founders, Legislators, and their Successors shou'd for ever judge necessary to the publick weal. And every Man holds his Estate, real or personal, in this form of tenure in every Civil State: In which the Legislative may by a legislative Right and Act, take away from every Man all he has, that shall pretend his Estate exempt from any Taxations that the publick shall think necessary. If Taxed to ill Ends and Uses; that must lye on the Conscience of the Publick: But Subjects must pay their Taxes, tho they altogether diflike the reasons of their Taxation. So that Men have their proper forms of Title to their Estates, with their feveral burthens and immunities, not from their own private Rights or Acts alone, but the publick Constitution. Whereas your invidious Notion represents the matter thus, as if Mer had their Estates their own altogether free and entire before any Civil Confo ciation

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ciation, (which yet at other times you will not stand to) and then take it for granted, that when they enter into confociation, they do not confent that they shall be Taxable for any thing, but what themselves do consent to in the original contract, or come into afterward; which no Man can be supposed to yield to for the maintenance of religious Speculations which he does not believe. But besides the folly of conceiving Civil forms of Tenure antecedently to Civil Society, here the Supposition is folaid, that all the first Consociators, Male and Female, did agree to be Taxed for ever for the maintenance of the aforefaid Speculations, from which their Successors could never free themselves without dissolving their Constitution, by Rebellion, Anarchy, or a new Conociation. From whence it appears as possible to suppose a Society founded in Contract for maintenance of Religious Speculations, as for any other benefits or reasons of Civil Society, which yet you vainly explode as not supposable. So that Tithes and Pensions are on such notions justly chargeable by Law on all en forts of Dissenters, the yet permitted to profess their Dissent to those Principles, 1er 10 H 3 on which

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which these Settlements are designed to maintain, leaving their Consciences, not their Estates discharged. From whence 'tis to be noted, That from the first moment that Mens Estates are so char. ged by the publick, they, that buy 'em, abate accordingly upon the Purchase, as not purchasing the Tithes, &c. which therefore not being their own, 'tis a just Duty, and no hardship on them to lay them out as the Law requires; and if they grudge to do it as an hardship, they might have let it alone unpurchased; for purchasing it under the burthens charged on it by the Law, and abating in the price of purchase accordingly, that purchase is an effectual confent, and contract of the purchaser to pay fuch Duties as are laid upon it, such as bind him in Conscience and Truth as well as Law to perform it. From which I think 'twill be a very natural and forcible Consequence, That Civil Magistrates may warrantably make such pro vision in every Christian State, for the maintenance of Religious Orders, Principles and Offices, which God himfelf has instituted for the conversion of Aliens, and the conduct of Christians in their Duties to God and Man, without asking

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asking every Peafant's leave, or opinions, or incurring the fate due to all Traytors and Tyrants of mankind.

Dem. Having thus shewn you how great, or how little Power Men cou'd, or can invest the Magistrate with in matters of Religion, it follows, that where this does not reach, Men can be under no other Humane Power, but fubject only to God and their own Conscience, on this one motive alone, viz. the faving their Souls, and for that end to joyn with whatfoever Church they judge will best conduce to it, and to leave it for the fame reason and motive, toties quoties, to day, to morrow, and for ever, every Man being fole judge for himself, as well after as before his confociation with a Church, for ever to judge of all the Forms, and Modes of Worship, Doctrines, Rites, and Ceremonies of any Church, not being conclusible herein by any Representative, majority. And fuch whose Consciences will not allow 'em to joyn with any other Church, are to form themselves into one as well as they can, and then two or three thus gathered together in the name of our Saviour have the promife H 4

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mise of his being with him. Nor can this be otherwise without destroying the very being of a Church; because when People meet together upon any other motive than Worshipping God according to that Method they judge most agreeable to his Will, they cannot deserve the name of a Church, as meeting rather to the affronting than worshiping God; So that if the determination of these matters is to be call'd Church-Government, 'tis impossible any Government can be more popular. Intr. §. 28. p. 23, 24, 25:

biet. This I suppose was to entertain me with a smiling specimen of demure Banter, and a Dose of Blasphemy compounded together in your treating Church-matters, not with any expectation, I hope, that it shou'd be seriously consider'd by any body, or answer'd by me; since you discover your sense, that there can be no Church-Government either in a natural or political State, and consequently no Order, and at last no Church at all; such it seems, and so to be asserted are the Rights of the Christian Church.

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Dem. What has not a little contributed, to make Men suppose there are Judges and Governors in Religious as well as Civil Matters, is, the Magistrates annexing Profits and Priviledges to the Teachers of his own Reighon exclusively of others; And determining who shall License those that are to have these Advantages, and on what Qualifications, and who shall deprive 'em, and for what Causes, and the like. And the chief of the Clergy being the Magistrates Deputies in this matter, call this, Establishing their Religion and Church by Law; and make it Schism, and confequently Damnation, not to be of the Church establish'd by Law, the vain and ridiculous confequences of which you may fee exposed, Intr. §. 29. p. 25, 26.

bier. But you may please to remember, that in the three first Centuries (not to mention the Christian Churches under Mahometan Powers) there were Judges and Governors in all Matters Christian, with Powers of Ordination and Deprivation of the Clergy, before there were any Christian Magistrates to depute the chief of the Clergy to these

these Offices, and by these Hierarchical Powers they maintain'd Christianity and the Church, against all the Laws and Perfecutions of Civil Powers, from the facred Unity of which to recede, was cenfured authoritatively as a Damning Sin, when there were no Preferments established by the secular Magistrate. And so it holds to this day, That Schism is a separation from the Church as planted by Clergy-men by a Divine Authority descending down to them from God the Father to Christ, from Christ to his Apostles, and Seventy Disciples, and their Successors, by Apostolical and Episcopal Ordination, and fo confociated in one Catholick Unity through all Nations; fo that he that is a Schismatick at home, is so throughout the universal Church, without any respect to civil Establishments or Promotions, which are but confequential accessions (and the same in divers Countries) not intrinsical constitutions of the Churches Essence. So that these Colours of Slander and Reproach, tho' laid in Oyl, will not endure Weather.

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Dem. I have ended my Schemes of Civil and Religious Government; Will you now be content, that I shou'd fairly represent your Notions herein, that so we may rightly determine upon a Case duly Stated? If you are, I refer you to Intr. §. 36. p. 30, 31, 32.

Dier. Were not your Pencil too officiously extravagant in drawing Lines and Features for us, it might have been an acceptable offer; but however there is no need of it, and we shall have occasion to do our selves that right and justice in the Course of this Conference. In the mean time having taken air enough on this Introductory Portico (raised on your noble and fundamental Pillars of Politie) let us now enter into the Body of the Fabrick, beginning at the first Chapter.

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CHAP. I. Discuss'd.

That there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society.

Dem. IX/Ell then by your leave I'll lead you, as you desire, to the first Chapter, where you'll see very dangerous Artillery and Torments for the Ruining of poor Babylon, for lo ye at the Threshold; all independent Power must be supreme, and therefore legislative. Now two fuch there cannot be at the fame time, either about the fame, or different things; Not about the same, because the one Power may oblige, and the other forbid us to do it, and so the fame Action wou'd be a Duty and a Sin; a Duty in obeying the one, and a Sin in disobeying the other; not about different things, because a Man can no more be under different Obligations at the same time, than at different Places, as at Camp, and at Church, or before an Ecclefiastical and a Civil Tribunal, which these diverse Powers may require at the same time, as they may not only different, but contrary things, as one to keep Holy-day on an Ecclesiastical, the other

ther to Work on a Civil account; one to Feast, and the other to Fast; one may oblige a Man to his Spiritual Function in fuch a place, which the other for reafons of State may forbid him to do: The one may Excommunicate a Subject from Common Conversation, which the other may require on Civil Accounts. The Magistrate may forbid Correspondence with one, whose Post in the Church requires a Spiritual converse with him by the Laws of the Church; and in short a Thousand things of this Nature will Occur. Each Power being able directly to judge of its own proper matters, must by Consequence be able to judge of matters belonging to the other; and fo each determine upon their Subjects what is Civil, what Ecolefiaftical, and many times quite contrary to each other, and fo put all out of Order into Confufion, of which Constitution therefore God can't be the Author. Ch. 1. §. 1, 2. p. 33, 34, 35.

Dies. But, dear Doctor, as none of us ever afferted two Independant Powers in the same Society; (for Church and State are, and ever must be two) so am I not satisfy'd without Correction, that

that all Independent Power must be fimply supreme, that is, subject to no fuperior whatever: For properly fpeaking, that Power is Independent among Men, that is, not Originally deriv'd from any other Humane Power; fuch as is the Marital Power over the Wife; the Parental over Children; Herile over Servants; Tutoral over Pupils, all, as capable of fubfistence antecedently to, and without Civil Government, and therefore underiv'd, and in that sense independent of it; fo in a Civil State Subject to the fupreme Civil Powers, and in the Church to the Powers Hierarchical. For fome Societies may be in some measure subject to others, from which they are not Originally, or Essentially dependent. But strictly speaking, in every single Society there is but one Independent and Supreme Power, tho' the same subject to the Powers of another Society without it: And it must further be noted, That where the Powers of two Independent Societies are, one subjected to the other, it cannot be fo univerfally and unlimited, but only to the Offices that are due to the Superior Society, in respect of which only it becomes its Superior. For the Powers of Church and State, can command

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command the Marital, Parental, Herile, Tutoral Powers to govern their few Domeftick Subjects in the Duties belonging to Church and State; but in all things elfe. Mafters of Families are Free and Independent in their Oeconomical Governments. Now those Powers that have a right to Command fubject Societies, but not to be Commanded by any others, they are properly the Supreme in every conglobation of Societies one within another, fuch as happens in all Estates Civil and Ecclefiaftical. And hence in this respect the Civil Power is superior to the Ecclefiaftical; for that Soveraign Princes may Command the Highest Ecclesiaftick's to do their Duty, and require an account of it; but the Ecclesiasticks cannot require Princes to do their Imperial Duties, and give them like account. So then the Church is a Society subject to that of the State, as Families are, tho' not deriv'd from the State, as Families are not. It does not therefore follow. that because the Churches Power is underiv'd, and as to its subsistence and proper uses Independent on the State, therefore it is not any wife subject to it, but univerfally supreme, not only within ittelf, but against all other exterior Rival Powers

Powers whatfoever. None of our Church make any claim to any fuch supremacy of Ecclefiaffical Powers, on the Right of our Divine Charter, and the Independency of it on the Will of Man; and plead not so much Right of Liberty to our Hierarchy against the oppressions of Civil Powers, as you affert to all Clubs, Companies, or Meetings, into which Men under Civil Government form themfelves for Business, Pleasure, or Religion; in which you fay, the Publick fuftaining no damage, Men cannot be hinder'd by the Magistrate without manifest and re-*Introd. 6. vengeable Injustice. * Only 20,25. P. 15, here we affert a difference 16, 17, 20. from other Clubs, that the Church is not a Club, or Society of Humane Model and Composition, and so diffolvable by the Components or their Successors, but of Godto continue for ever: But hereupon, by a good Argument given us by you, we may well conclude against you, That if a Magistate cannot violate Innocent Clubs, (no not of any Religion whatfoever, true, or false) which therefore may fubfift Independently on the civil Power, much less can the civil Magistrate Violate a Society, form'd by God within his Dominions

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ons without any injury to the Civil State or Interests; without which therefore it may Independently fubfift upon God's Plantation and Authority only. And as Private Clubs may make Laws of Order, and Officers for themselves without injury to the Publick, much more may God make the like Institutions for his Church, equally free, as the Marital, Parental, Herile, and Tutoral Powers and Offices, from civil Encroachments and Violence, and yet as subject to all civil Duties and Uses as all other Societies within the State are, and ought to be. There may be therefore included, and fubfifting within the Circle of one Civil Society (as their common Guardian de jure) several lesser Societies Originally Independent (as to their proper Powers, Forms, and Ends) on the larger civil Powers; and fuch is the Church in every Nation by Divine Constitution, tho' subject however to all Civil Duties to the Civil Soveraign, and to his Legal Inflictions (Just, or Unjust) without seditious resistance, for fuch is the Supreme and Independent Authority of all Civil Soveraignty. Notwithstanding which subjection of the less included Societies, yet, strictly fpeakfpeaking, the Powers of each these So. cieties, that are underiv'd, and so essentially Independent on the Civil, are fupreme within their respective Societies, and the Offices peculiar to them, as a Father is over his Family as fuch; for the King is not the supreme Gover. nour over it as a Family, but as a Member or Sojourner of the Civil State. within every Particular Church by Divine Right, the Bishop is (tho'not the only, yet) the supreme Governour Spiritual and Ecclefiastical, and the supremacy of the Prince over it is not as it is a Church meerly, but as a Member, or Sojourner within the Realm, in Powers and Operations Civil only, not Ecclesiastical, as he is a Prince over all Estates and Societies within his Dominions, not as a Spiritual Member or Officer of the Christian Church as a Spiritual Society. For there generally are many particular Churches subject to their peculiar Bishops, and under them fubfifting as feveral diffinct Co-ordinate Societies, over all which however the Prince has one Individual Civil fupremacy, as the fupreme of all that one Civil Society within which so many Ecclesiastical Societies

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do feverally fubfift, and (if you will) depend as to their Civil Interests, which therefore is the just ground of their Civil Subjection to Temperal Powers, tho' on thefe they depend not as to their Effential and Spiritual Constitution. And this I have thought fit fo largely to infift on, not only to shew the Vanity of your Hypothesis of one Independent Power in one Society as useless to your design, but to clear off all Invidious prejudices, as if we claim an exemption altogether from the reach of Civil Powers, as Papists, and all other our Sectaries do. 'Tis true indeed, the Fathers unanimously pronounce the Spiritual Powers, greater, and of an excellence Superior to the Civil, and 'tis true fo they are as to their Spiritual, Internal, and Sanctifical Operations on the Soul, and therefore not to be violated with civil force; but they do not hence deny our corporal fubjection unto Princes, but frenuously and devoutly affert it. Nay, as to Internal Vertue and Moral Benefit, one may well prefer the Parental, or Tutoral, as far more excellent to the endowments of the 1 2 mind

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es lo mind than any Civil Government whatfoever, as much as Ethical In. stitutes conduce more to Practical Wisdom, Vertue, and Honour, than meer Penal Laws and their Execution; which in truth are inftituted only as an external Curb on the practice of evil Men, on whom the gentler conduct of Tutors Parents had not its due moral effect, and fupply the want of strong force in fuch on whom a more Ingenuous Conduct and Institution had not a due and sufficient Influence. Laws of a Land instill no principles of any other Learning, Wisdom, Vertue; these must be the Fruits of a more private Conduct, which therefore in order to its proper ends is more Internally excellent than any Civil Laws alone can be, to which alone they cannot be fufficient Rules, fo proper inducements. And yet none can be fo wild, as to think Parents and Tutors exempt from Civil Subjection. The fame therefore is to be faid of all Ecclesiastical Powers and Institutions.

But I would willingly know, while you are here contending for one only Independent two one that to her men cy a which nal

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Independent Power within a Society, because such must be supreme, and two fupremes their can't be within one Society, (meaning the Civil) that so you might prove the Church to have no Independent Powers of her own, how you come so Funda-mentally to affert such an Indepency and Supremacy to Civil Powers, which by you depend on that Original from whence they are effentially deriv'd, namely, the Voluntary Contract of fingle Persons in the first Act of their Civil Confociation, and o are not primitively Independent, and are liable to be destroy'd by every Original, or Accessional Member, f they Transgress the Limits assign'd them, and break in upon the Natual Rights and Liberties not parted with, but still reserv'd to every single Person in the Coalition, and so Civil Powers are not independent ld ık and fupreme and free from fubm ection to those individuals from re whom their Authorities were depriv'd. ers that the Church may have withher felf, her Supreme and Indeile pendent Spiritual Powers, within the nly compass of a Civil Society, without lent the

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the absurdity suppos'd in a duality, or plurality of Independent Powers within the same Civil Societies; since according to your Original Maxims Civil Powers are neither underiv'd, independent, nor supreme, as having the Mob for its Original, and Superior. If you have no better Batteries than these, I suppose the Walls of Babylon will be but in little danger.

might have understood my sense to be of Civil Societies actually continuing and subsisting undefolv'd by their originals, into which National Churches are civilly Incorporated, and so make up one Society with it; in which state the supreme Civil Magistrate is the Fountain of all Political or Society, there can be none within such a Society, underiv'd, or independent or him, or any wise unsubjected to him

to remember, that with you, all Convil Incorporation of Churches is null Constitution, made by an incompetent Power, the Magistrate having nothin

nothing to do with any Points or Offices of Religion, but fuch as are also of Civil Nature, and Use. And therefore he, that has no Civil Right to Incorporate a Church, has not by vertue of fuch Incorporation, any Right or Authority to erect any Powers in it; but ought to be destroy'd as the basest of Traytors for fuch Tyrannical Constitutions, which the People neither did, nor cou'd empower him to make in fuch points of meer Religion and Confcience toward God. A Church therefore, let its original be of God or Mob, cannot as fuch be any wife Dependent of the Magistrate, nor subjected to him in its native or effential Rights and Liberties. But now, if you proceed against us, not upon your own Principles and Suppositions, but ours, then you ought to confider the Fabrick of the Church as we do, first in a solitary State sojourning in this World, without any Countenance, and many times without the Mercy of Civil Governours: And then the Question first is, Whether the Soveraign Authority of God can possibly Institute any Orders of Men to collect a Church from I 4 among

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among the corrupt and irreligious World, with a Commission to govern it by Spiritual Cenfures relating only to the Soul and Life eternal? This I fay with you must be the first Question, because you argue against us from the impossibility of two Independent and underived Powers. Say then this in down right blunt terms, That he can't do it, confiftently with the antecedent civil Rights of the Magistrate: For if he can, the Arguments you bring from impossibility are all gone at once. If he cannot, then the Civil Magistrate antecedently had a Civil Supremacy in all matters Religious, which you fay, he cou'd not have from the People, nor from himself, and therefore must have it from God, which you of all things most abominate and blaspheme. Besides, if I be not mistaken, all the Christian World, even the most Learned Doctors, and Laymen, and the most mighty Princes, have ever uniformly own'd, that God, in fact, did found, and by his Ministers form the Church into a Spiritual Society under Spiritual Governours, without impairing the Rights of any Civil Powers, fo little did they dream

dream of an impossibility in God to do fo. 'Tis true indeed your fraternity account all Christian Priests (that claim by Divine Right) Knaves, and all the rest Fools; so that were a reputation for Craft fo valuable with us as 'tis with the general World, we might well infult over it. But in truth we are plain Men in the matter of our Principles, and must ingenuously own, that very many of the Laity are not only as Sagacious, but as Learned as the greatest of our Order, and have employ'd the utmost of those excellent abilities in the nicest discussion of our Powers and Claims, for the fatisfaction, not only of themfelves, but of Princes and People, in the Learned as well as more Barbarous Ages, and they all, that were candid, have justified our Cause as the Cause of God, and fo infinitely over-balance a few unhappy Wretches, that have perverted all the Capacities, that God liberally gave 'em, to irreligious purposes, on purpose to get 'em a Party and a Name peculiarly fingular. In which defigns they have not only exalted themselves against God, but modestly call'd all the Lay-World Sots

Sots and Fools besides their own great felves. There are therefore on this occasion two Books now of late publish'd * Of Dr. on your provocation * (be-Hickes, and fide all that have gone before them) that will, I suppose, abundantly settle the matter of Fact to the fatisfaction of equal, and the confusion of all adversary Readers, how much foever they may struggle, and play tricks. And then the Argument is clear, that what has been, may be, an Axiom thus deliver'd in the Schools, Ab effe ad poffe valet Consequentia. And upon all you'll here observe, that by our Nation the Church in fuch simple folitary condition is a distinct Society from the State, and is in every Nation less than the Civil in point of Numbers, for tho' all Members of the Church be also Members and Subjects of the State, yet all the Members of the State cannot be, or at least hardly ever are Members of the Church. Nor will you, I hope, plead it for an abfurdity, that the fame Person in several capacities shou'd be a Member of more Societies; for a Freeman of Bristol may be a Freeman at London, and of the whole Kingdom.

dom. A Colledge is a particular Society within the greater Society of an University, and the same Person Member of both and fubject to the Laws of both. But then in the Civil Establishment, or (which is more) the Incorporation of Churches, our Notions are, that the Churches, Societies and Powers ordain'd of God continue the fame, and are not fwallow'd up of the Civil, which hereby only admits 'em into the protection of their Divine Rights; and if under colour of that, the Civil Powers prey upon the Spiritual, 'tis all oppression and nullity, in Fact, fo that the Spiritual Powers and Society cannot, de jure, cease, or become Civil, because the Church Powers can cast those out of the Church, which still shall continue in all their Civil Stations in a Kingdom, &c. Nav, suppose a particular Organiz'd Church confifting of a Bishop, Priests, Deacons, and Laity, shou'd be made by the State a Civil Corporation with proper Civil Powers, (as the close of Sarum is) yet, tho' they are to a Man the same Persons, yet in one respect they are a Spiritual, and in another a Civil Society, sublisting by feveral

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feveral specifick Powers, and he that is fuspended, or excommunicated, or spiritually censur'd as to his Ecclesiastical Interests, may enjoy all his Civils entire, except the Civil Charter has fuspended the fecular Priviledges on the spiritual; and he, that suffers by the Civil Powers of that Corporation in his Temporals, may yet continue in the full enjoyment of his Ecclefiasticals. But however, I still allow you fair play, and shall try how far your Arguments already fumm'd up, prove our Notions inconsistent with the Civil Authority over all its Subjects; for that I suppose is the main point you aim at.

Dem Ay, ay, That is it, and herein I desire you.

member that you contend for the Inconfiftency of Church Principles both with the Legislative and Judicial Powers of the State. To begin with the Ligislative; If the Spiritual and Civil Powers, one Command, and the other forbid the same things, or diverse things at the same time impossible to be be done, Can a Subject be in Conscience oblig'd to obedience, and disobedience on both fides? That's the difficulty, and to which I answer, No. Upon a Duty which I owe to my Parents as a Natural Subject in their Family, the civil Legislative has no meer negative or prohibitive, as against saying my Prayers, learning my Catechism, reading God's Word, doing Acts of Charity, ferving him in his Business: So when the Ecclefiastical Laws require me publickly to Worship God, in Prayer and Sacraments, on Sundays, or Holydays; no meer prohibition of the Prince will bind me to disobey the Laws of the Church in point of Conscience; for otherwise Christianity had been strangled in its Infancy. Again, if the two Powers enjoyn divers, or contrary things at the same time, impossible both to be observed, the Subject must consider the nature of the matters enjoyn'd, and the reasons of Injunction: For necessary matters are to be prefer'd before all others; and Vertuous matters before Trifling. And again, the intention of the Law is to be consider'd, whether it affects the Conscience of the Subject under the Peril

Peril of Guilt of Sin towards God. as in all matters of Moral Justice and Charity; or only has a fub-penal defign to promote fome lighter conveniences; as appearances at Sheriffs turns. Juries, &c. Burying in Woollen, and the like; or whether it be Tyrannical, on purpose to enflave the Subject more or less: In fuch Cases the greater Causes, and greater Powers concurring, shall determine our Conscience. for instance; If when the Laws of the Church oblige me to be at the Publick Devotions, My Soveraign shall Command me to play, the Laws of the Church are to be obey'd, else Christianity must be destroy'd by such contrivances. If at the time of Publick Devotion, I am Commanded by the Civil Powers to help to quench a Fire or Sedition, or do any Act of Charity neceffary at that Instant; there Mercy is better than Sacrifice; the Civil Powers are to be obey'd, and the Churches Rules cease to bind in such Case. Nay, if both Powers cou'd be suppos'd to Command diverse things impossible to be done at the fame time of great and equal Weight and Importance, tho' not absolutely necessary, (for two such Duties

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Duties cannot be fo at the fame time) and with good Intentions toward the Subject, (which unknowingly may perhaps happen) there the Civil Power is to be obey'd in Conscience (if the intention, and matter of the Law defignedly affects it) as being Superior to the Church. But what if Subjects in fuch nice and doubtful Cases pay a wrong Obedience thro' meer Ignorance, and fuffer for it at the Hands of their fuperior Prince, Bishop or Parent, &c? I answer, that in Conscience they deserve forgiveness at the hands of Men; but if they cannot fairly or legally escape Punishment, they must bear it with Patience, Meekness, Humility, Resignation, and Charity, for fo it must be, even where we fuffer for Righteousness fake, much more when we fuffer for meer Error. This is the last Virtue of all fuffering Subjects, by which alone Authorities, Peace, and Happiness of all Communities are preferv'd fecure, and for the fake of which all Personal Injuries from fuperior Powers must be meekly born with.

Then for the Judicial Authority of both Powers in Spirituals or Ecclefiasticals, which you think wou'd Introduce Confusion,

Confusion, I answer, that supposing, that both Powers must hereby have a Judgment of Science to diffinguish what is Civil and what is Ecclesiastical, in order to Right Judgments and Decrees upon their Subjects; yet it does not follow, that each must determine in matters, which they know are out of their lines or sphere, as you represent it. 'Tis possible there may be error incurr'd, or injury committed by the Judges of different Causes; but that's no more than what may happen to Judges of the fame Faculty and Causes, from whence it wou'd not therefore follow, that there must be no Judges at all. Cross Accidents are not to impeach good Constitutions. But however you are here mistaken; for it is only necessary to an Ecclesiastical Judge, that he know what matters are Ecclefiaftical, and how to be Judged, without skill in fecular Laws and civil Rights. And fo on the contrary, a Secular Judge may well be Ignorant of Ecclesiastical Laws, and yet be a good Civil Judge; fo it almost always happens on both fides, and therefore they do their Duty, when they Judge Authoritatively in matters belonging to their Province, their Respective Authorities

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Dem. Well! I'm fure you ascribe to the Powers Hierarchical an Independent and Underiv'd Authority of making and depriving Ecclesiastick's, and of Excommunication. Now the first deprives the Magistrate of the Right of putting any Clergy-Man to Death, which is an effectual deprivation of all Offices and Employs. Ch. I. §. 7, 8. P. 37.

Diet. A Priests Right to his Offices can continue only during Life, and his Life is subjected not to God only, but to Civil Powers; and if by God, or by them taken away, his Title to his Office is not impair'd. If I hold an Estate during my Life absolute, the King can't de jure deprive me of it during my Life; but if I lose my Life by the Law, or Sword of the Prince, or otherwise, the Tenure of my Lease is not violated, and on these notions Jesabel proceeded against Naboth.

Dem. A Man's Divine Right to an Office supposes the same to the place where,

where, and the Persons on whom he is to exercise it, and therefore not to be Banished, Imprisoned, Removed, or Hindred by the Magistrate in the Exercise of his Function, where he is fixed by his Ecclesiastical Superiors, nor is he likewise thus to be deprived of any of his Flock, to whose Spiritual Obedience he has an Independent Right, Chap. 1. §. 8 p. 37, 38.

for Life, if not deposed by Ecclesiastical Authority, so his Obligation to exercise it holds during his Capacity, which he may forfeit by Crimes to the Civil Laws, or lose it by Oppression, and 'tis no more than what will follow from Sickness, Infirmity, Storm, Captivity, &c. none of which are Spiritual Forms of Suspension without any Temporal Loss, which is an act purely Hierarchical, and against which these Strains and Cavils are utterly needless and impertment.

Dem. The same is to be said of the Independent Power of Excommunication, Chap. I. §. 9. p. 38.

Dier. And the same Reply is to be made to it. Dem.

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Exco Exco Nati Dem. But what fay you to the tragical Effects of Excommunication against the penal Power and Safety of the Magistrate, and the wretched Excommunicate, who must be ruin'd, outlaw'd, abandon'd, and either starved to death, or live a Life worse than Death, not excepting the Magistrate himself? Chap. I. § 9, 10, 11. p. 39, 40, 41.

Diet. I refer you for Answer herein to Dr. Hickes. Pref. p. 87.

Dem. But how can you bear all that I have exposed you for to the end of this Chapter?

Diet. Very easily; for my business is not with false Representations, nor malicious Reproaches, but only with what looks like Principle or Argument, especially since others have taken notice of what they thought sit hereof.

Dem. Well then! t'other touch at Excommunication: When the Clergy Excommunicate for things of a Civil Nature, as Wills, Administrations, &c. Do they act by a Power deriv'd from K 2 Christ,

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Christ, or from the Magistrate? If from the former, then why not in all other Matters of the like Civil Nature? Ch. I. § 35. P. 55.

Dier. In these Cases, three Things are to be distinguished, the Civils, the Morals, and the Spirituals, The Civils confift in all the Official and Judicial Acts of the Ordinary, that peculiarly relate to the fecurity and determination of those civil Matters, which Power is committed to the Ecclesiastical Ordinaries by the civil Powers. The fecond thing is the Moral Duties the Persons concerned owe to the Orders and Precepts of the Ordinary: And this arises from the Nature of Government, and the Law of God, who has ordain'd it. The third thing is the Spirituals, the Censure of Excommunication, which is an act of Power derived from Christ, inflicted for the immorality of refusing to do Justice in Obedience to the Precept of fo doing; which Precept, tho' it close follows all the civil disposals, and acts of the Ordinary, yet is in its Nature and Matter Moral, and in its Authority, not only Civil, but Spiritual too, and therefore, fince breaches of AuJu gif pu narritu Fat Civinfi be to g her of the late

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Authoritative Precepts in matters of Justice are to be punished, and the Magistrate has given no Power of Civil punishment to the Ordinary, the Ordinary is to punish them by his own Spiritual Authority, which I believe our Fathers look'd on as more Dreadful than Civil Penalties, and therefore did not institute these, till the Spiritual shou'd be despised. And this very consonantly to good Reason; for tho' the Church by her Spirituals is not a Legislator or Judge of civil Titles; yet those being fixed by the civil Laws, 'tis Immorality to violate them, and against the Laws of Christianity as well as the Laws of the Land, and therefore in its own nature Censurable by the Church; and that this, or any other Immorality is not in fact and de more so censured, is from the Civil Prohibition, or an original Contract to the contrary, in its first Civil Establishment and Coalition, which, being now not extant, may by legal presumption be supposed,

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CHAP.

CHAP. II. Discuss'd.

That the Spirituals claim'd by the Clergy, who set up for an Independency, are either such as are peculiar to the Divine Nature, or else were only bestow'd on the Apostles, and that both these serve em as a pretence for invading the Rights of the People, and their Representatives.

Dem. TOu have used so many Arts to get your felves into Jurisdiction, that I have taken occasion therefore to Ferret you, if possible, out of all your Holes, and Distinctions: And first of all, while you affert the Civil Jurisdiction to be external, but the Hierarchical to be internal, 'tis not only false in fact, but cou'd it be supposed true, it had been useless. But first in fact 'tis false; for the Church being a visible Society, its coercions are as external and visible as the Magistrates: For is not Excommunication as external as Outlawry; and deprivation of Ecclefiastical, as external as that of Civil Offices? But Secondly, The more invisible, or internal it be supposed to be, so much it loses lo in R pu

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loses of its chiefest design, The terrifying others from the like Sins; for which Reason all Punishments are made as publick as can be. Chap. II. §. 1.

Diet. You may dress up our Notions in what Garb you please, to render us ridiculous to fuch as are defirous we shou'd be so; but certainly none of us cou'd ever possibly use such a distinction in fuch a Sense, as if the Acts or State of Excommunication or Deprivation are altogether invisible. But this distinction is used in respect of the penal Effects, in which the feveral penal Acts do distinctly and finally terminate on the fufferer. And fo civil Punshment only affects that which is external to the Soul. that is, the Body, or bodily enjoyments: But Ecclesiastical Censures, tho' visible, and externally sensible in their Acts, do effectively terminate on the Spiritual State of the Soul only, and the Rights thereunto belonging, with regard to which alone the Fabrick of the Church was Founded, and fo, in respect of the proper and final Effects of Spiritual Censures on the State and Rights of the Soul, are they call'd internal.

ternal. And in truth, in this respect, not only Cenfures, but the visible Church, and all her visible publick Offices, are purely Spiritual belonging only to the internal part of Man, and not to the external part, or any bodily fuccours or advantages thereof. Nor are therefore these Censures of less terrour, because the Effects upon the State of the Soul are not externally fenfible to themselves or others; for if by a certain Faith on a Divine Revelation, we are as certain of their dreadful Effects on the State of the Soul, as we are by our Senses of the Effects of Civil punishment upon the exterior Part and Interests of Men, the Terrour will be as firm as the Certainty, and as great as the Losses and Stroke of the Soul do appear to be by Divine Revelation. By which clear account of the Catholick Notion herein, we have no need of your fallacious Representations in your 2d and 3d Sections, nor are your Cavils therefore upon them of any service to your Pretensions. Now that such a Judicial Authority over the state of the Soul was given to the Hierarchy by God Almighty, has

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has been believed by the whole diffufive Church Catholick, afferted, without contradiction, by the Writers of
all Ages, and the Institution acknowledged in the Scriptures. And therefore I need say no more to you or
your Nine first Sections of this Chapter, but refer you to the information
of other your Humble Servants, in the
whole business of the Judicial Power
of Censure and Absolution.

ver those mighty Nine, What say you to the Tenth Section? What Idea have you of the Priests Absolution in this form Exposed for an Innovation by the Bishop of Sarum, viz. By his [Christ's] Authority committed to me, I Absolve thee from all thy Sins, &c? Does this Form import the Priest's pardon of Sins in the sense of your Church, or only the sull Peace and Pardon of the Church, Chap. II. §. 20. p. 72. vid. Margin.

Dier. It is to be noted, That this Form is used to a sick Penitent humbly desiring it after a special Confession

of his Sins, the same Person not being Excommunicate from the Peace of the Church; otherwise no Priest can Ab. folve him from the Bond, without Commmission from the Ordinary who bound him, or a superiour Ordinary cancelling that Bond on an Appeal. How then can this Form to a fick Person give him the Churches Pardon, which he had not offended, or her Peace which he fully enjoy'd, and now when he is going perhaps out of the World, and is never like to have to do with the Church again? Beside, the Church pardons only Sins, of which she does, or can take judicial cognizance, i.e. open and fcandalous ones, not all; but here the fick Person is Absolved from all his Sins, private as well as publick, against God alone, as against his Church, or any member of it. Instead therefore of fuch shifts, that are but colour'd Arts to reproach the Church, the Form must be taken in that sense, in which our Saviour gave the Commission to his Apostles, from whom 'twas derived to Bishops and Priests, Whose Sins you remit, they are remitted, &c. and Shall whatsoever you shall loose on earth be

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be loofed in heaven; which cannot posfibly note a meer declarative, but an authoritative and effectual Act, and confequently this form of Absolution, confifting of the same Words, and challenging Christ's Authority from them in the sense in which Christ spake them, must be Authoritative and Effectual. For God gave the Son of Man Power upon Earth effectually to forgive Sins, and the pious Jews glorified God for what infidel Jews call'd Blasphemy, viz. That God had given such Power unto Men. Thus Christ sent forth his Apostles, as God had fent him, and gave them the fame Power (as his Representatives) of remitting and retaining Sins. The fame comes to every Priest, who in this Office stands in the Place, and acts in the Person of Christ, and as fuch is, or ought to be look'd upon by the fick Petitioner, who is very happy in having his Petition affuredly and effectually granted by Christ in his Representative, by a federal act of Sponsion, of which a Man is not capable from God immediately (now Miracles cease) without the intervention of a Ministerial and

and subservient Mediator under Christ, and in his stead. And if this be thought so transcendent a Power, as seems to be above humane Capacity, remember 'tis of Divine Ordinance, and Condescension to our Misery, thereby, among other Offices, obliging Men to an inviolable Reverence of, and Adherence to the Priests on whose Offices the very Church subsists, and all the ordinary means of Salvation in it do depend, the contempt of the Priesthood terminating on Christ, and implying a renunciatiation of Christianity.

pretence of giving the Holy Ghost in Ordination. For his Person they cannot dispose of, nor grant his Miraculous Powers, and his Ordinary Graces are common to all Pious Christians, which God alone himself can give, it being plain the Priests can't give 'em, because they han't 'em themselves. Hence the Bishop of S. tho' he explodes the Form for Innovation, and as a Sound too bold and assuming, and not apply'd by the Church to this in the best times, turns it to a Wish

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a Wish or Prayer, which then any Man may perform. Ch. II. §. 11. p. 74, 75, 76. See also §. 12. p. 76.

Dier. To this I answer, that beside Divine Authority, the Ordinary Graces are given in the Form: But then 'tis to be noted, that to the feveral Orders of Christians, there are respective Ordinary Graces, and to the Superior Orders, Superior Graces do ordinarily belong, tho' there be no Miracles, all communicated from Christ by the Holy Spirit, and deriv'd to every one his measure, from his fullness to whom God gave the Spirit without measure. The Prophecy of Esaias concerning Christ runs in this manner, The Spirit of the Lord [ball rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of council and might, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. And he shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord, and he shall not judge after the sight of his Eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his Ears, but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity, oc. E/a. 11. 2, 3, 4. And ought not this Spi-

Spirit in proportionable measures be given to fuch as Christ fends in his name for fanctifying Offices far above common Christians? And shall not these excellencies be the ordinary Graces of the Priests? If in fact they are not always fo, shall that vacate the Right or Institution of God, That no Priests shall have any Priestly shares of the Divine Spirit ordinarily proper to their Order, because some Mens Corrup. tions render them uncapable of fuch Graces? It pleased God in a business of much less moment to fill Bazaleel the fon of Uri, and Aholiab the Son of Ahisamach, with the Spirit of God, in Wisdom, in Understanding, and Knowledge, and in all manner of Workmanship, with several other wife-hearted Men, in whom God had put Wifdom, without any Power of Miraculous Prodigies, yet in a measure much above the Vulgar, Exod. 31. 2, 3, 6. Or what if I shou'd go higher, and say that the very residence and presence of the Holy Ghost with these endowments is hereby given to every Priest, if his Internal Corruptions do not hinder? I fee no absurdity. The Ordinance not being

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being Mans, its effects are not of an humane Power or Operation; but being Divine, he renders it effectual, and he may do it by what means or ministeries he pleases. And if the B. of S. gives more humbling and unheard of Notions, and you thereby serve your selves of him, it will concern him to consider what he has done, and how he will answer it before God, since he is secure against any human censure.

Dem. You must allow me a little to ramble from one thing to another, and over and over again, as the fits of impulse come upon me, so as that I lately skipt from Excommunication to Ordination, so now I must whisk about again from Ordination to Excommunication; in which as the Clergy have no such Power, so one wou'd think all Ecclesiastical Punishment shou'd be to bring Men into, not turn 'em out of the ordinary way of Salvation: This an ill Man is apt to do of himself without the assistance of a Priest, to minister unto Satan, &c. Ch. II. §. 20, 21. p. 84, 85.

Diet. As it neither has, nor can be proved that Priefts have no fuch Power, fo the Exercise of it cannot be proved uncharitable or improper. The two Learned Doctors, which I have had occasion to mention for the service they design'd you, having given very clear Theories, not only of the Power, but the nature and use of this Censure, have fuperseded me in this Office. I shall therefore only add, That the way to make perverse Men desire a thing, is to deny it to 'em; and accordingly the way to reduce ill Men to a reverence of the Church, its Offices, and Benefits, and in order to their enjoyment to live accordingly, is to turn 'em out from the Kingdom of God, and deliver them into his Hand and Empire, whom they ferv'd in the Communion of the Church, that being made conscious of the Terrours of that State, they may recover out of it by Repentance and Reconciliation.

Dem. That you may not amuse the People with pretences to Spiritual Punishments, know ye, that no Punishment can

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tan be otherwise Spiritual, than as it tends to hinder Wickedness; which if the Clergy had a Right to, then they wou'd have a Right to the most forcible means, and in all Crimes: And Punishment having no tendency to convince the understanding, but to curb the Passions only, what is most powerful to that end is most Spiritual, as the killing Ananias, putting out Elymas his Eyes, delivering Men to Satan to be Tormented in their

Bodies: * And if they were fo then, they are fo now, if in-

flicted for the fame, or as proper ends,

the executing it by

*Orrather their Minds and Consciences, by which the lust of the Flesh might be destroy'd and the Bodies perhal's emaciated, &c.

an ordinary or extraordinary Power not altering the nature of the Punishment. Christ's Whipping the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, was truly a Spiritual Punishment, while the Jewish Priests Excommunication of those that believ d on him was far from being so, except it may deserve that name for advancing the spiritual Kingdom of Darkness, to which Excommunication has ever been most Instrumental, since the Clergy

claim'd an Independent Right in it. Ch. II. §. 22. p. 85, 86, 87.

Dier. I am not fatisfied with your first Fundamental proposition herein; That no Punishment can be otherwise Spiritual than as it tends to hinder Wickedness. In God's Punishments 'tis not always fo. The Fall and penal chains of Darkness in the Devil and his Angels, do not curb their passions, nor hinder them from wickedness, nor will their final doom at the last day have that effect. And even in this life, if when Men have filled up the measure of their iniquities, they are penally delivered up by God to a final judicial obduration, and strong delusions, that they (hall, or may believe a lie, and all be damned, who believe not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness; (the terrour of which I think ought greatly to affect you) 2 Theff. 2. 11, 12. This has no tendency to the hindrance of Wickedness, and yet all these are punishments purely Spiritual. And in truth, what I said above upon the distinction of internal from external, I say by Spiritual and Secular (or Corporal) punishments, that they are diftinguish'd by the the tion which and the min Paragame

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the [natural] effects of their Opera, tions on their Respective Subjectswhatfoever were or are the final Issues and Expectations, which do not give the constituent and distinctive forms to any Acts defigned to fuch ends, even tho' they attain 'em, much less if they mis 'em. Corporal Chastisement by Parents and Tutors, for Immoralities against God, &c. may be designed for meer Spiritual ends, yet they take not the denomination of Spiritual from those ends, but of Corporal from the Bodies chastised; and such were those you mention of Ananias, Elymas, and those that were whipt out of the Temple. Again, tho' your notion and denomination of Spiritual from the ends of Punishment were true, and bodyly Punishments therefore more Spiritual than Ecclesiastical, it does not thence follow, that the Clergy must have the Power of 'em: For Power must be where its Author places it; and therefore, if the Civil Punishments be, as to their ends, more Spiritual than Church Cenfures, does not thence follow that the Church must inflict 'em. But however, the Instancies of Elymas, Ananias, &c. * K 2 will

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will not prove the Civil Punishments of the Magistrate more influential to Spiritual ends than Canonical Discipline; for those were Divine Punishments, and the tokens of God's zeal against their impiety, which is of the most astonishing influence; but Civil Punishments are not certain effects, or tokens of God's displeasure, as being many times unjust, and never affecting the Spiritual Estate of the Soul, and inflicted many times upon fuch, as being Penitent, dye in God's Fayour. therefore, the Corporal Punishments (whether by a Divine, or Humane Power) alters not in its general nature and form, (fay whether Corporal or Spiritual) yet that that comes from the Hand of God, as it is a certain Conviction of Guilt, fo is it an Argument of Terrour at the Punishments of the other State to come. And if this be most prevalent to hinder Wickedness, by your notions of Spiritual, the Clergy, (if they have any) ought to have it; but then fince they in fact have it not, and can claim no right to it, it shews the folly or sophistry of your little reasonings. As to the Jewish Excommunications, let their original

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ginal or real efficacy be what it will, itis plain they believ'd them Sacred and Spiritual, and do fo to this day, and of more Terrour and Prejudice than Temporal Chastisements, and perhaps than penal Death to fuch as dye in that State, and therefore more influential against those imagined or real Impieties for which they were inflicted, than any bodily Punishments of the Civil Magistrate. Nor do I find our Saviour reproving that discipline simply in it self, tho' he did the perversions of it upon wrong grounds or motives. But as to ours, 'tis founded by Christ, practifed and enforc'd by St. Paul, when the People of their own will wou'd have spared the Incestuous Corinthian, 1 Cor. 5. V.I, to 6. to omit other evidences, which other of your Friends among us have collected. And as St. Paul did, fo have all other Bishops been Authoris'd by Divine Authority so to do, and so in fact have done, and confequently all have thereby according to what you fay, advanc'd the Kingdom of Darkness, for which God give you (if it may be) the Grace of a faving Repentance, that God may be Glorified, and many Sinners ners recovered by your fignal Conver-

Dem. Another pretence you have, that Excommunication is necessary to preserve Unity against Division and Schisms; which is as much as to say, the way to the Churches Unity is to divide her by turning Men out of her, like as putting Men out of the Road of Salvation is the way to save them. Ch. II. §. 23. p. 87.

who turn'd Catiline and his Complices out of the Roman Senate and City, on purpose to preserve their Civil Unity; and all wise States do the same, if they are satisfied such a Purge will secure 'em. Which you'll please to apply to the Excommunication of such as make divisions in the Church, which yet is their proper Road to Salvation by the Terrour of the Sentence, in order to Repentance, and so is it not an uncharitable procedure as you censure it, Ch. III. §. 1.

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CHAP. III. Discuss'd.

That the Clergies pretending to have a Divine Right to exclude People from the Church of Christ, is as Absur'd as their claiming a Power to debar 'em from the Publick Worship is Uncharitable, &c.

Dem. T Have not yet done with your accurfed Claims and Practices of Excommunication, but shall now evince them to be as Absur'd as Uncharitable, and thus I begin. Since Men cannot be Excommunicated for fuch matters of Doctrine or Discipline as are no Terms of Communion; and Conscientious Men, as soon as they think the Terms of Communion unlawful, excommunicate themselves; and a pretended Excommunication from Church of those, that were never of it, or have left it, is ridiculous; none can be properly Excommunicate, but those that desire and approve its Communion, and the fame only Wicked and Immoral Actions: then this is to debarr a Man of one part of his Duty in God's Publick Worship,

Worship, because he has failed in another; from publickly begging God's Pardon for having Publickly Offended him. So that if the not doing one Duty makes amends for the Breach of another, he that breaks his Duty to God, ought to be hinder'd from doing his Duty towards his Neighbour, et vice versa, and so be oblig'd to obferve neither: But the greater the Sinner, the less reason to debar him Sermons perfwading him to Repentance, as without which his Communion in the Church will not fave him; whereas a perswasion that his Damnation depends on the Priests Excommunication, lessens his belief of the heinousness of the Sin, and tempts him to contrive, not how to avoid the Sin, but how to Sin in private, or to ingratiate himself with the Clergy fo as to prevent excommunication: Which as it wou'd make it the Clergies Interest that Men shou'd Sin in abundance, and so be liable to their mercy and an univerfal compliance with them, fo wou'd it encourage People, especially their Favourites, to gratify all their loofe defires; an admirable contrivance to spoil both Priest and People. Ch. III. §. 2, 3. p. 89, 90.

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Diet. The great Labour, which appears in the Framing and Forming of this System of Conceptions, makes me think, that the whole Work is, as it is positively Reported, a Production of many Years; it being not in Truth eafily supposible, that all the Principles of Wisdom and Religion among all the Learned Authors of the Church Catholick, for 1700 Years Universally, received by all Orders of Men within that Pale, without any doubt, and with all affurance of their being Divine, could be brought under any colourable Impeachment of Absurdity; and Wickedness too, by one Ordinary Witness, and in a little time. But little, or no wit, or time will ferve to break the Machine in pieces, as will appear in this Instance.

For first of all, Men cannot be Excommunicate for such Matters of Dostrine or Discipline, as are Terms of Communion, but may for such as are no Terms of Communion, when falsly Obtruded or factiously Asserted as such, against Truth and the Churches Authority and Peace. A Truth so Notoriously Evident on all the principles and Practices of the Church Catholick, from the Apostolick Ages, that I wonder how 'twas possible for you to Commit such a Blunder, as well as for what purpose. All that I can imagine you'll pretend in your Excuse, is, that you meant as I do, tho' you otherwise Express'd your self i. e. by one contrary you meant the other. But if that really be the Case, it shews too much of your Shallows to engage in so Deep a Controversie with the whole Church of your abandon'd Saviour.

Well then! let us try our better Fortunes in your Second Remark, that 'tis Ridiculous to Excommunicate those that have left the Church. But if this be done by the Priest, not only to recall to their thoughts the Terrors of this Sentence, in Reference to God's Judgment consequent hereupon, that fo they may return on that apprehension, and in the mean time preclude the Gates against their Wanton Skippings to and fro, at their Variable Humours, into and out of our Communion, never again to be admitted without Canonical Repentance and Satisfaction to the Church, to the just Awe and Terror of

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of themselves and others; Pray where is the Abfurdity in such a Practice. as was ever on this account Observed as Wife, Holy, and Divine, and had, while kept up in Piety and Vigour,

its effects accordingly?

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Well! but granting you these your inconsiderate Prejudices in these two Cases, than the last Essay is, that wicked Persons that affect our Communion, must not be Excommunicate for any their Sins, and consequently there ought not to be any fuch Cenfure in any Case whatsoever; tho' you can't deny that this is a Doctrine contrary to the Principles, Discipline, and Practice of God's Church, in the best and purest Ages. Now to overturn all these, you had need have mighty and irrefistible Batteries, as Strong as Mathematical Demonstration, and therefore let us fee how you are provid. Well then! this is for breach of one Duty to barr him from another towards God, even of publickly begging his rs, pardon for publick Sins, &c. But you nere to Note, Friend Dem. That Ca-God's publick Worship in his Church, to not only a Duty, but a Priviledge, ror r a Duty, only Mediante Privilegio; of L 2

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and the same Priviledge not Irrespe. Ctively Absolute, but conditional only upon regular Qualifications, and under Canonical Disposal and Conduct. An Unbaptized Person has no Privilegiate Right to the Communion of the Lord's-Table, nor is an Infidel qualified for Baptism. Will you then say, that to exclude an Unbaptized Person from the Eucharist, is to hinder him from this Duty, and charge it for an absurd Discipline, because he violated another Duty in not being Baptiz'd? Or will you Condemn us for Excluding an Infidel from Baptism, and denying him to do this Duty, because he Brake another in not believing the Principles of the Christian Faith, and not renouncing the World, the Flesh, and the Devil? Beside, even within the Church, the Sacrifice of the Wicked is an Abomination to the Lord, and the Incense Stink, in his Nostrils, tho Offer'd at his Altar. And therefore the Levitical Separation of the Clean from the Unclean in Type and Figure, is now Morally and Spiritually to be performed by the Christian Priests, to vindicate the Spiritual Temple, Sacrifices, Obligations, and Odours from

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from Scandal and Profanation, and to shelter the Sinner from the Curse of God, due otherwise for such an insolent Presumption as to approach his Sanctuary or his Altar in open, unpurged, and undiffembled Uncleanness, in which while a Man continues, he cannot really, either publickly or privately, ask God's Pardon, or at least, not as he ought, and in a manner acceptable. And therefore the defign of Excommunication is to purge him to Repentance, and fo to qualify him duly to ask God's Pardon in Publick, not only generally for all his Sins, in common with other entire Christians, but particularly for those Sins which brought him under this Bond, and from which he cannot be Loofed, but by fuch Moral Expiations, if that Word may be admitted. Nor is there fuch an absolute Necessity of Sermons (which come under the fame rule and reason) for his Admonition. For those have been so long despised, that without a Purge, they are of no use, and as the Exclusion from them, and the Sense of their Want, may prepare the way to an Appetite and Reverence of them, so other Offices on and

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and Operations, under that State are more proper to supply their Defect, and to Admonish him more Feelingly. were your Arguments good, even God himself, consistently with the Merciful Defigns of his Gospel, cannot remove his Candlestick, nor inflict a Spiritual Famine of his Word and Sacraments, nor transfer the Vineyard and King. dom of God from Wicked People, because, for sooth, the more Wicked they are, they more need they have of fuch Spiritual Mercies and Advantages. Nay thus, even your Popular Affem. blies convening on meer natural Right, ought not to Excommunicate any Villains whatfoever, that like and defire their Communion, which 'tis not like ly indeed, that you, or any of your Doctors will exclude them. And this I think is fatisfaction to your Fourth Section also.

your Lord's Supper upon this occasion, you put me in mind how very inconsistently you talk of Exclusion from that Supper; sometimes representing it as the most Dreadful Punishment, and sometimes as the greatest Mercy, here-

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by preventing Men from destroying themselves by it. Ch. III. §. 5. P. 91.

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Bier. And this very confiftently, like Medicines, that either certainly Cure or Kill. If they Kill, they are Fatal, if they Cure, they are Happy Things. So if Exclusion from the Lord's Supper, or any other Cenfure Cure the Soul of the Sinner, as that it certainly will, if he admits the Operation 'tis the greatest Mercy, when the Permission thereof wou'd have made him falfly Secure, and the touching the Sacrifice in that Profane Security, have provoked the Lord more than an Abstinence in Conscience of his Sins and Impurity. On the other hand, if fuch Exclusion does not mortify the Sinner, as it is intended to do, he must the more grievously Perish for his Obstinate Refusal of Correction, and being contented to be excluded at once from the Table and Kingdom of God for ever, rather than be humbled at the Discipline. Nor is it so in this Case only, but in other judicial Procedures. Severe Scourges, in themselves, alone, considered with Retrospect only to past Crimes, are dreadful L4

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dreadful Vengeance, but as designed for the suture against Capital Crimes and Punishments, so they are to be esteemed as the Merciful Designs of the Government, even to the Malefactor himself.

deeply enough, that Mens Circumstances may be such as may make the Receiving a Crime, or a Duty, or a Thing Indifferent. If a Crime, then the Clergies Resulal is no Punishment, but only a Resuling to Contribute to another's Sin; If a Duty, he is notwithstanding their Resulal, to receive without them. If indifferent, then it is no Prejudice to be Resuled; in which the Priest therefore only uses his own Liberty, but does not Punish another by any Act of Jurisdiction. Chap. III. 6. 6. P. 91.

discharged, by the Observation given you, that this Reception is as well a Priviledge as a Duty, requiring antecedent Qualifications, which he that Violates, becomes liable to the Penal Chastisement of Exclusion, Penal not only

only as to the Exteriour Shame among Men, but also as to the Strokes, and Reproaches of Conscience, and Pain of Mind, for the repulse from this Sacrament, as from a Priviledge which his Sine have Forfeited, and the Priest taken the Forseiture thereupon. not to be restored but by further voluntary Penance, Chastisement, and Humiliation. So that as to this A& of Discipline, Communion is to be confidered under the notion of a Priviledge, and not a Duty, especially pro hic, & nunc, and these Circumstances; for ?tis not a Duty to those whom God forbids to approach it; that is, Habitual and Scandalous Sinners, and especially under Canonical Suspension herein; tho' generally 'tis a Duty upon all Christians mediante puritate Conscientia to receive it. 'Tis therefore a Sin not to receive it with a pure Conscience, because, if the Conscience were otherwife pure, this Neglect wou'd Defile it. But he, who knowing his Conscience to be Defiled, does not to that Pollution add a Contempt of the Sacrament, but forbears only on the Conscience of his Sins, does not by Forbearance add any new to his former

former Sins, but the Guilt of his former Sins will not only continue, but increase, till he recover from the State of Sin, to a State of Innocency, and so approach to the Altar. very Man, that believes Christianity, ought in Duty to be Baptized; but yet the Priviledge of Baptism is not to be granted him without Renuntiation of the World, the Flesh, and the De-These Sacraments therefore, that are Priviledges on God's part, as well as Duties on Man's part, are not meer fimple Duties, as the Moral are, but are complex Duties, always to be joyned with others, with them only to be Duties, and not alone without 'em. Nor wou'd it presently follow on the other hand, that the Sacramental Participation might be either a Thing indifferent, or a Duty to be observed without the Clergy, whether they will or no; (either of which Notions (if Obtainable) wou'd be very grateful to you) for as the presenting our selves to be Fed with Divine Food unto a Spiritual and Eternal Life, cannot be an indifferent thing in it felf, and elpecially when under Precept, but a Sacred Duty when done with Necelfary fary Qualifications, fo tis Essential to the Duty to receive it at the Hands of a Priest, as has been by others abundantly proved to your Satisfaction. Infomuch, that they that are Unjustly Excluded, not only thro? the Error, but the Corruption of the Ecclesiastical Minister, or Judge herein, cannot either by their own, or any Layhand receive it, because no such can Confecrate it to that Mystery, which it Imports and Imparts to the due Receiver. As to the Test and Penal Laws, for which you very undeservedly Reproach the Church, §. 7. P. 92. they were the Provisions of the State, and therefore I leave it to the State to Anfwer for it to God, and (if it Pleases) even to you.

mon Law of Reason, forseit the Right of Rational Society in Common Converse, but 'tis Uncharitable to Exclude 'em from the Publick Devotions and Sermons, by which they may be Reclaim'd, &c. Chap. III. §. 8, 9. Pag. 92, 93.

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Dier. Whatsoever is Uncharitable in Matters Religious, cannot be Lawful by the Laws and Principles of Religion, whether Natural or Positive. Now as you allow the Practice of all Private Societies, Companies, or Clubs in Excluding those Members, who Act not Conformably to the Rules they have agreed on, fo Church Societies, being according to you, fuch private Voluntary Clubs, you fay (p. 84.) that by this natu tal right the Primitive Christians Acted in their Excommunications. which Excluded from the Church always, even in the lowest Degree, when it went not perhaps any fara Denial of Common Conther to verse. And such is the Practice of private Clubs, or indeed Corporations; for they turn out the Irregular from the Priviledge and Communication of the Society, as fuch, in their common focial Interests and Places of focial Convention, whereas elsewhere there is no Distance, Difference, Abstention, or Animofity. So I leave you herein to reconcile your felf with your felf. And as to the remainder of this Chapter, containing [i57]

taining nothing of Principle and Argument, but only reproachful Inventions, or such Falshoods, in Fatt, as others have Observed, I am content to pass by without giveing my self an Useless and Unnecessary Trouble.

CHAP. IV. Discuss'd.

That 'tis Inconsistent with the Reason,
Design, and End of Ecclesiastical
Discipline, that there shou'd be
any Immutable Form of it, or any
set of Persons, with an unalterable Right to Manage it; but that
Men are Obliged according to the
Circumstances they are under, to
Alter, and Vary all Things relating to it, as they Judge most Conduceing to the End for which That
was Instituted.

Dem. I Am now come to your Beloved and Cardinal Principle, your Divine and Unalterable Right of

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of Episcopacy, and shall plainly shew it to be meer Visionary Fancy. For all things, relating to Religion, are either Means, or Ends, and the Means only to be Embraced, and Continued for the fake of those Ends, which when they cease to Promote, or do Obstruct, they are to be laid aside, and this God by our Circumstances Directs and Commands us as by the Law of Nature. Ch. IV. S. 1, 2. P. 122, 123. By the force of which Truth I have forced my first Adversary Dr. Turner, to confess the whole even to the difpenfing with Episcopacy in some Cases of extreme Necessity, and that upon Principles accordant with mine in great Measure, and set off with great Accuracy and Niceness in his Sixth Chap. from P. 165. to P. 169.

piet. There has of late been renew'd an Antiquated fort of Policy, in Caressing our Neighbour Countries that have shaken off Popery, they have also excluded Episcopacy, in allowing their Ministry to be Valid, and all that is consequent thereupon, on the account of their Circumstances, and the Civil Constitution, which will not

not endure the Prelacy, and this we call dire necessitie, and insuperable Exigences. And this we do not upon any Principle in the Ecclesiastical Constitution, but through meer Tenderness to their Oppression, or some Tincture of our Domestick Erastianism, or Policy to keep them off from Animating our Diffenters, for all, or fome of which Reasons 'tis now again Fashionable to make fuch Concessions as Dr. Turner has done, and upon the same Principle on which you Fight us. Let us therefore Examine First its Truth, and Secondly its Consequences. And, First. as to the Truth of your Principle I grant it as well as the Doctor, but then must add, that when a Supreme Power inftitutes means perpetually, to ferve to fuch or fuch unalterable Ends, that fame Power only can Authoritively Judge when those means cease to be means, and consequently Abrogate them, and Subrogate others, Gr. For this is above the Power of Subjects. Now the Supreme Power that Instituted our Orders particularly, and above all the Episcopal is God; who can have no Superior and with whose Spiritual Ordinance here

herein Civil Powers, meerly as such; can have of Right nothing to do. The Church therefore, as such, is immediately, and alone subject to the Divine Legislature and Sovereignty of God, who Framed it under such Orders, and therefore they as a Church cannot Rescind or Alter his perpetual Constitutions, nor Authoritively Judge, when they cease to be means to the great Ends of their Institution. And therefore when our Transmarine Neigh. bours pretend each their feveral Necessities, under their respective Civil Constitutions, as just Causes, why they do not admit Bishops, and we indulge them in that Plea, they and we take upon us to Judge and Resolve, that this divine positive Constitution, the defigned for perpetual, yet obliges not against the Opposition of the State; which had it been a Principle in the Church, the Heathen Emperours might have Oppressed that Order by meer Edict, and the Christians must, or might lawfully have thereupon renounc'd it, even in the Apostles themselves, and from thenceforth forever, which could not yet have been legally Confistent with God's defign of its Perpetuity. Beside

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Beside if this Power of the Church over this Highest Order in such Cases be allowed, much more must it so in the lower Orders of Priests and Deacons, which are de jure of Episcopal Ordination, and fo at the Pleasure of the State, the Church may reject all Orders of Divine Institution, and have no Ministers of Christ. And the next fall from hence will be upon the Sacraments, nay, and the being of the Christian Church, because as these are positive Institutions, in order to greater Ends, so the same Exigencies, that will justifie the dispensing with one Ordinance Perpetual, will do the like with all the rest; not to mention, that the refusal of Episcopacy alone, but however the refusal of all other Orders with it, under Colour of the same Exigencies, does ipso facto Dissolve and Unchurch the Divine Society. In short, these Concessions must import, that we are not obliged to fuffer Persecution for any positive Ordinances of God, tho? of perpetual Design; and consequently for nothing but the Duties of meer Natural Religion, which tho' it becomes you to fay, yet no Clergy-Man of the Church Catholick. And therefore Men fhou'd

shou'd have a great care how they Temper with Divine Appointments, Fundamental to the good Conduct (not to fay the Essence) of the Church, and Teach People prudential Schemes of shifting them off to avoid Persecution. For my part, if there be any one pofitive Ordinance of God, which we are to maintain against the Terrors of Men, I believe the Episcopal Order is one, to be afferted therefore to the utmost Martyrdom, and not to be Rejected on pretence of Occasional Circumstances, as if these were to us the Voice of God, or the Law of Nature hereunto; whereas our Circumstances may be defign'd to make Proof of our Duty and Integrity toward God, and not a License to Apostasy from him or his Ordinances. As for other Inftitutions, not made by the Spirit of God for perpetual, but by the meer general Episcopal Authority of the Apostles and their Successors, with respect to External Order and Convenience, fuch are alterable in their own Nature, by the fame fucceffive Authorities and Powers, with those, who first Instituted them, tho' they do not altogether cease to be means, in Exchange for better Provisions, 10

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or to avoid other Dangers. And this, I think, will Answer all that you have pretended unto the Ninth Section.

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Dens. If these Offices belong to a Set of Men, and fuch as they adopt into their Body, by Divine Right, exclusively of the People, 'twou'd be no less than Sacriledge in others to Preach the Gospel to Heathens, or to form them into a Church. And it wou'd be a Sin in Infidels to be Converted, and Baptized by them. Hereby no Lay - Christians, cast upon a Land remote from all Communication with any Christian Country, can Lawfully Preach the Gospel to Infidels, nor form themselves into a Church, as having no Right to fay Prayers, or Administer the Sacraments; Nay, if they had any Priest among them, yet if Bishops only can make Priests, upon their Death the People must cease to be a Church, and their Children void of all Advantages of Christianity, tho' they lived never so Religiously. But if this may be allow'd by the Churches Approbation, as twas in Frumentius, and others, this thews the Power not to be in the Priest M 2

Priest, whose meer Negative Absence cannot Create a new Positive Right, but calls the People to the Exercise of their own Original Right.

Dier. In fuch cases Christian Offices must be distinguish'd into Moral and Mystical, and their manner of Performance into Charitative and Authoritative. In fuch a State then may all Offices of Moral Piety be performed by every Christian toward each other, and toward Aliens. They may Pray for them, Instruct them in Christian Principles, Perswade and Admonish them to the Belief and Practice of them, and this Women may do as well as Men, Priscilla as well as Aquila, as the Presbyteresses or Deaconesses did in their Schools by Apostolical Ordinance and Concession. They may alfo Form themselves by a Right of Nature into Assemblies, as the Jews did into Synagogues, and put their Devotions under the Conduct of fome particular Persons, and by them be Admonished and Catechised on that Humane Compact, all which Frumentius while a Lay-man, either did himself, or procured to be done among the Indians by

by Christian Lay-men Trading thither. But these Offices, as a Priest by a Divine Commission from God, no Lay-Man can any where do. And then as to the Mystick Offices of Ordination, and Administration of the Sacraments, Confirmation, Excommunication, Absolution, &c. no Lay-man has any possitive Authority from God to Minister them, nor do I know any Law or Right of Nature does or can Empower them herein, in any supposed Exigences in which God has made no provisional Rule. And let the consequences be what they will, they must be patiently submitted to, and not relieved (as we Fancy,) by usurping a Divine Office, as in the Case of Uzza, Saul, Jeroboham, &c. who pretended Necessity for their Sacriledges, and that very Colourably. And if the Churches Concession of Baptism by Lay-Hands be adduced for fuch a Power in a State of Nature, and extreme Exigences, the Argument will not hold; for the validity of fuch Baptism, as well to its Internal as External Priviledges, stands on the Authority of the Churches Power to grant such License to Lay-Men in Extremities, not on M 3 any

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any natural Right, which if you'l suppose extended to fuch Foreign and Invented Cases, I shall make no Objection against it on that Notion, so it be not claim'd by the Law of Nature. The Authority of the Powers Hierarchial are very Divine, and the same which Christ had, not to the Violation of his Laws, but to dispense with them to Edification, for which they may be Impower'd to Relax Stated Rules in cases that appear Necessary or Expedient, and therefore herein no private Man ought to censure them for such Relaxations, but leave them to God to whom they are accountable for their Stewardship, especially when such procedures are of Catholick Confent or Approbation. But the Church having not permitted any other Mysticks on any Exigences whatfoever into Lay-Hands, they must not be any where prefumed upon. For this cause when the Jews had no Sanctuary, (as now they have not) they presumed not to Sacrifice, but instead of thinking Sacrifice necessary, they judged that their Exigences Discharged them from the ordinary Legal Obligation, and their Natural Piety, continued in their Synagogues

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Synagogues, Schools, and Proseuchæ, was judged by them acceptable to God, during their Captivity; a Standard whereby to judge of such Cases, which you have set before me.

fuppose Bishops) are necessary to the being of a Church, all that are without them must be Unchurched.

Dier. If we take a Church properly for a Publick Society organically Entire, in this Sense St. Cyprian defines a Church to be a People United to its Bisbop, and then, upon his Notion, a People without a Bishop cannot be fuch an entire Church, in the proper and publick Sense of the Word, and herein is a Catholick confent of all Ages and Churches from the Beginning to the Reformation. And yet such People, (if they own Episcopacy and its Rights) tho they have no imme-diate Bishop of their own may be Members of the Catholick Church, and have a Right to its Communion, whenfoever any of them shall be cast into any parts thereof, in which every Bishop is the Strangers Bishop M 4

too, as well as the Natives, during his abode. But if People are, where they cannot have actual Communication with any Earthly Bishop, there Christ supplies the defect to all that Worship him; and in such State are all that are at Sea, and Travel into Christian or Unchristian Countries.

Dem. To fay, the purest Faith, Doctrine, and Life, avails not to the Health of Mens Souls, without this or that Set of Ecclesiasticks, is as absurd as to fay, that your Meat can't be wholsom when not Dressed by a Cook, made so by such Formalities, &c. Ch. IV. §. 12. P. 127, 128.

ments, when the Parallels are not exact, are more often Sophistical than Good, so it is here. For if the whole Faith and Doctrine of Christianity be the Souls Food, then the Faith of the Catholick Church is one part of it, that imports a Body under Orders constituted by Christ, and of these, that of Bishops as Supreme and Fundamental to the rest; which Faith is vitally necessary to the Soul so far as

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an M under the Churches Unity and Conduct; otherwise you might as well have framed your Objection against the Church; as if ones Meat can't be wholsom, except dress'd in such a Kitchin; Which you'l be free enough to do, if you think 'twill Cajole the People out of the Christian Church; but Times, tho' Ripening, are not yet perhaps Ripe enough for such broad Attempts.

of their Minister's Preaching, so has it a Right of Constituting their Ministers, whether Bishops or any other Ecclesiasticks will Ordain them, or no; and so to remove such as they judge do not do their Duty, tho' never so formally Ordain'd; Ordainers herein acting only in Trust for the Church, in Order to this End to preserve Truth, and the Churches Good. Ch. IV. §. 13. P.128, &c.

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here very Necessary, that is, that Judgment is Two Fold, Discretionary and and Authoritative; the sormer for a Mans self, the latter over others. The former

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former every Church, and Member of it, has for himself concerning the Doctrine of his Guide, but not the latter. the former he may avoid and shun the Doctrine and Communion of an He. retick or False Teacher, but herein ac. countable to Superior Judges, or Arbiters, by them to be Justified or Cenfured. But neither one, nor many, nor all the subject Lay-Society can judicially Deprive or Censure him. And if there be a Remedy from any standing Power, well; if not, they may forbear Communion, but cannot formally exauctorate the Teacher, nor substitute another in his Room, even to the Noblest End, since God has not put the means in their Power, nor indeed (as the make of Man now is) cou'd he without Infinite Confusion, which is what you'd expose the Church to by fuch Notions, and thereby to utter Ruine.

Intention of the Priest, as necessary to the Validity of the Sacraments, and consequently Mens Salvation, is no worse a Priest - Crast, than to place there Validity in the Ministration of Ecclesiasticks

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Ecclefiafticks, deriving their Power in a Line of Succession from the Appostles, to which the Piety of Christians can no more contribute than to the Intention of the Priest, nor are they better Judges in one case than the other. Is not making a Ministers sorging his Orders, the Damnation of his Parish, as absurd as the Doctrine of Intention? Ch. IV. §. 15. P. 130.

Dier. The Cases are widely different; fince what is to be a Legal or Canonical Rule in External Offices. must be in its own Nature outwardy Apparent, which Intentions cannot be, but publick Functions, and their Successions are, attestable by Registers and Authentick Certificates, which People in doubt are first to Consult, before they admitt the Ministry of a suspected Pretender, according to the Canon of our Church. But after all, f an Impostor, by any furprize or forged Orders, shall Invade, and Minifer the Sacraments to an unwary, or deceived Congregation, this shall not hazard their Salvation, nor the effects on the pious Communicants, who regularly on their part received what

what was (unknown to them) irregularly Ministred, the Sacraments by being Offered unto the Lord, tho' by Undue and Sacrilegious Hands, being (like the Censers of Corah) Hallowed to the Lord, even by a Presumptuous Oblation; so that what as to the Impostor sieri non debuit, as to the Imposed by God's Favour factum valet.

Church Polity Mutable, Preaching, as in the Apostles time, ought to be in Common, and not appropriate to the Clergy. For St. Paul, supposes the Laity as much bound to speak in their Religious Assemblies, as to Assemble, making one the Reason of the other, (See Heb. 10. 24, 25.) so that this Reason is 1700 Years more Forcible than it was then. Ch. IV. §. 18. P. 132.

these Exhortations were Acts of publick Preaching, to which Men must be properly sent, Rom. 10. 15. as the Prophets were, and that therefore with an Authoritative Commission? Where-

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as these Exhortations, &c. as applicable to Christians in common, were but Mutual Acts of Charitative Piety, concomitant to the higher Prieffly Functions, either antecedently or confequently, by way of Brotherly Communication. For these do not seem to be of the fame Form with that of Prophecying, 1 Cor. 14. which can concern, not the Unlearned Multitude, but Prophets only. For as the Rule of Paternal Exhortation is now of 1700 Years, more Force than 'twas when the Epistles to the Hebrews, Colossians, and Thessalonians were Written, so this of Prophecying lasted no longer than the Apostolick Age. But it seems by you, that all the Lord's People are Prophets, and Preachers of Righteourness, and all to take their turns of Preaching in their publick Assemblies, to put a pleasant Banter on Priests and People, by which no doubt great will be the Fall of Babylon and Priesthood altogether.

the Church at Jerusalem (in which Three Thousand Souls were Converted at the first Sermon) they were scattered

scattered Abroad, and they who were scattered, Preach'd the Word, and became a whole Army of Lay-Preachers; Acts 8. 14. like the Brethren, many of whom spake the Word without Fear, Phil. 1. 14. Ch. IV. §. 18. P. 133.

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Diet. Preaching has a double Sense first the Publication of Christ, as the Author of Salvation to all that receive his Doctrine, made to Infidels, which is the first and most proper Notion fecondly it signifies publick Instruction ons in the Churches of Christians. Now it is plain that 'twas the former fort of Preaching, which the dispersed made; which therefore signifies nothing to the Right of the latter Sort in Christian Assemblies. Now this then they did among Infidels either by special Mission, of the Holy Ghost, or the Apostles, to this Office of Evangelizing, and then they were not of the Laity, but of the Clerical Order of Evangelists, the third Order after the Apostles and Prophets, which Christ gave the Church after his Ascension; Or, if without Mission, then they did it of meer Christian Charity, wherefoever they Converfed with them, telling [175]

telling them by way of Narrative, the History of that great Revelation, but makes nothing to publick Preaching in Form, especially to Christian Congregations,

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Dent. On this popular Right they are obliged to Charge their Clergy in the publick Assemblies, to take heed to their Ministry and Fulfil it, as St. Paul bid the Coloffians, charge Archippus the Apostles fellow Soldier, when they were met together to Read his Epistle, Ch. IV. S. 19. P. 133.

Dier. But at this rate Archippus had no Ministry in speaking the Oracles of God more than any other Lay-Man; and fo, being himself but a Lay-Man, to be Quits with them, he was obliged to Bid all the other Lay-Men to take heed to their Ministry, and Fulfill it too, and so be even. Rilum teneatis.

Dem. But 'tis not only the Right of Preaching, but of Baptism also, belongs to the People, from which the Command of Baptism given to the Apofiles, does no more Exclude them, than from

from Preaching and Receiving the Sacrament. For after the Apostles had made Converts, these were also according to their Opportunities and Abilities, to increase the Number of Christians, and therefore, as that very Antient Pseudo-Ambrose observes, all at first Taught and Baptized. Ch. IV. §. 20. P. 135.

Dier. Whosoever has an Office, Priviledge, or Authority, must have it by a Positive Grant, or a Natural Right. How any Man shou'd have Authority to Baptize, considering the Mystery and Efficacy of it, by a meer Natural Right, without any positive Commission, I can't perceive, and therefore you, that lodge it in Natural Right only, must clear it out. 'Tis certain and granted that the Apostles had it by positive Commission, and not otherwise; which yet had needless and impossible, had they been impowered by meer Natural Right; by which therefore if the Apostles had it not, how can the Laity claim it by a Natural Tenure? And therefore, if the Laity then had it they must have it by a positive Commission,

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Commission, only. And if it be said that their own Baptism had in it such a politive Commission, then so the Baptism of the Apostles must have had likewise, and so have prevented and made needless that Solemn Commission of Baptizing all Nations, given them by Christ, not at their Baptism by him, but just before his Ascension into Heaven. Beside, the general Tradition of the Jews of a New Baptism, to be introduced upon the appearance of the Kingdom of God, and the Messias, supposed it Founded in a Divine and Especial Commission, not common to all Jews, or to all that shou'd embrace the Messias, but either to the Messias alone, or Elias his supposed Pracurfor, or that celebrated Prophet, Deut. 18. 15. That shou'd come into the World; Joh. 1. 25. And John the Baptist being in Truth that expected Elias, in whose Power and Spirit he went before the Messias, Luke. 1. 17. Baptized by a Divine Authority given to him as the Second Elias, and Christ afterward by the same, according to the Jewish Tradition. Whether therefore Hilary the Dea-N con,

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con, or any other Author of no Antienter Date than the the 4th and 5th Centuries, under the Name of St. Ambrose, gave a True Account, or no, 'tis plain this Lay-Power must be by positive Commission, beside that of their Baptism. Which Commission, if being Temporary only upon the first Exigences, it Determined, or was Cancelled after the Cessation of those Exigences, cannot Authorize any Lay-Men afterward, much less all, and for ever, not excepting Women also, if Nature or Baptism gives this Power. Let us therefore confider the Words of this Commentator, and the Grounds of his Notions herein, that so we may judge of their Authority, and Confistency with yours.

"First of all (saith he) all "Taught and Baptized, on what

" Days and Times Occasion happen-

" ed. For Philip did not seek a

"Time or Day wherein he might Baptize the Eunuch, nor interpo-

" sed a Fast before it. Neither did

" Paul and Sylas delay the time

" of Baptizing the Prision-Keeper and

" all his; Neither had Peter Deacons, or

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" * or fought a Day when * That's more " he Baptized Cornelius than Pleudo -" with all his House; which Ambrose 'cou'd know. yet he did not himfelf, but commanded the Brethren that had gone with him to Cornelins to Joppe. Therefore that " the Multitude might Increase and " be Multiplied, at the beginning " 'twas granted to all to Evengalize " and Baptize, and to ex-| Of this last " plain the Scriptures in Office of explain-" the Church. || But when ing Scriptures in the Church there " the Church compreis no shadow of colour in the " hended of took in all Scripture. " Places, Affemblies were " Constituted, and Rulers and " ther Offices were Ordained none of the " the Church; that " Clergy, that was * That is, " Ordain'd, ** shou'd dare to bis particu-lar Function. " to presume to an Office, which he knew was not Committed or Granted to him. And the Church " began to be Govern'd in another " Order and Conduct. For 'twou'd " be unreasonable, if all Men shou'd " be able to do the same things, and the business, would seem Vul-" gar and most Vile. Hence there-

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" fore 'tis, that now neither Deacons " Preach among the Peoof the lower Orders below Dea- "gy nor Laity Baptize,
cons."

"Blance We are to " &c. Hence we are to Observe, that this Commentator does not alledge these Notions as Common and Traditionally Received in the Church, but he makes these Collections from the Scriptures there Cited, which at the utmost therefore can be but probable Inferenwhere the Scriptures are not full and determinately Exact. But fupposing the Conceptions to be True, (where 'tis possible they can be True) yet 'tis said, that the Lay-Men did those Offices by Command and Grant of their Superiors, and that not for Universal Perpetuity, but only in the Beginning. And therefore what the Superiors Granted at first, they Stop'd afterward, which they cou'd not have done, had these Powers been Founded in the Right of Nature, or the Grace of Baptism. So that your Pseudo-Ambrose, is so far from justifying, that he condemns your Principle of popular, natural, and unalienable

nable Rights of the Laity for ever in these Ministries. And therefore whatfoever the Laity might be fupposed to do in the Baptizing those vast Multitudes of Converts at Jerusalem, or elsewhere, in Order to Expedition, cannot be extended further than to the Act of Dipping, the Words of Consecration in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or of Jesus Christ, being still reserved to proper Orders, and Officers present, and governing the Affair; which is, I think, a full Answer to all your Pretences, confidering the great number of Spiritual Orders given to the Church by Christ and the Holy Spirit, to the Conduct of such Solemnities among fuch Multitudes of Converts. And therefore for what else may be replied upon you, I remit you to your other Examinants.

This Power of the Laity to Baptize, fince you publickly allow the Validity of Baptism by Lay-Men, Hereticks, Schismaticks, mimical Boys, and the Papists by Women? From which primitive Practice, Alteration can be N 2 made

made only on point of Order, not no a distinct Authority in Priests, the Power being Originally Common to all Christians. Ch. IV. §. 20. P. 137.

Dier. All Baptisms are Ministred either without the Concession of the Hierarchical Powers, or upon it. Heretical, Schismatical, and Mimical Baptisms are done without, nay, and against the Consent of the Hierarchie, and therefore are not Entire or Valid in themselves, but made so on the post fact by the Spiritual Powers, fo far, as that the external Rite shall not be Reiterated; but as to any Spiritual Graces, they are not to be had thereby, till those Defective and Irregular Acts are Supplied, Righted, and Confirmed by the Chrism of the Bishop, or Imposition of his Hands, or fuch Rite by which he shall fix the Persons so Baptized into a State of Canonical Union with the Church. The other Baptisms by Lay-hands, in Cases of Extremity allowed by the Church, have all their Validity (be it more or less) not from the Single Authority of the Lay-Man Baptizing, but the Publick lo di O

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Con the cou to turn form Publick Authority of the Church allowing him pro on nunc, to supply the defect of a Priest, &c. in that one Office only.

Dem. If there were such a Divine Independent Right in any set of Ecclesiasticks, People wou'd be bound to adhere to them, tho' to the inevitable Ruine of the Church Ch. IV. S. 21. P. 138.

here to them for the Preservation of the Church, which can never be Ruined, while Men thus adhere. It may indeed Ruine Mens temporal Interests, (which we are not to value in Balance with our Duty) but 'twill Strengthen and Increase the Church, and render her Victorious over all Persecutions.

Confideration Acted very Wisely in the Mahometan Empire, on the Account of their Toleration, submitting to the Governments, putting in and turning out their Bishops, as the Reformed in France also did, in being N 4 content

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content with a Presbyterian Model without Bishops, if they did so on account of Toleration. Ch. IV. S. 22. Pag. 138.

Diet. What Prudence there is in a Consent to the Violation of God's Ordinances, let the Wise of this World Judge for Me. But as he that mill Save his Life, by shifting from Christ, shall Lose it, so the Christians in Turky, and the French Reformation have but little Joy in their prudential Contrivances, whereas a daring to suffer for Divine Constitutions wou'd Certainly have Delivered them from those both Spiritual, and Secular Oppressions, under which they now Groan and Languish.

Things relating to Church Discipline shou'd be altered according to Circumstances, since these sometimes take off all Obligation to Church Communion. For so a Believer in an Heathen and Insidel Country may be a good Christian, and yet of no Church. Chap. IV. S. 23. Pag. 138, 139.

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Dier. But every good Christian is de pleno Jure, a Member of the Church Catholick, and of that particular Church in which he was made a Christian by his Baptism, tho' he cannot de facto enjoy the Visible Communion of any Church or Christian; and no good Christian can be faid (as to his Title) that he is of no Church; not to mention his Spiritual Communion, with the Church of Saints departed, and our Lord Jefus Christ, his own immediate Bishop in such a State. Nay, if a Man lives within the Compass of a particular Church, that Excludes him Unjustly from actual Communion, or requires finful Terms in Order to it, which a good Man ought not to comply with, he yet is de jure a Member of that Church, and has all Right to its Communion, (and the same not only Approved by God, but to be Challenged and Afferted by the injur'd Person, and all Orthodox Churches and Christians) how great a Paradox soever this at First may seem to be. Nor will I in this Sense stick to say, that a true good Protestant, dwelling in Rome

Rome it self, is a Member of that Church de jure, tho' he cannot joyn in those sinful Acts, which are there made the Conditions of actual Communion, which resolved, is no more, but that the Church of Rome is to Remove all her corrupt Terms of Communion, that a good sound Christian in it may Enjoy his Right of actual Communion therein. Which I think clears all your Prejudices Home to your Twenty Fifth Section.

Dem. The great Regard of God Condescending to be King of the Jews) not only to the exteriour Circumstances, but to their unaccountable Prejudices, groß Ignorance, profound Stupidity, and hardness of Heart, in the Establishing, Altering, and in finally Abrogating their Laws, shews, that God wou'd have made and altered far different Laws, in Condefcension to any other Nation, had he Pleafed to become their King. Which shews, that where God does not Act as a Political Prince in making such Alterations from time to time, nothing of Ecclefiastical Policy remains Obligatory, but general Rules of Acting for

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for God's Honour, Edification, Peace, Order, Decency, &c. but Men may alter 'em at Discretion, especially in a Religion that must last to the End, and extend to all Nations of the World. Ch. IV. S. 36, 37.

Pier. Notwithstanding what God did among the Jews, or might have done in a like Theocracy among the Gentiles, yet by your Principles he cou'd have Instituted no Speculations and Practices in Religion (but what are also Civil) by penal Laws, to which Conscience is not Subject in any other Principles, Parts or Acts of Religion, and therefore fuch Laws, as he could not make, he could not alter or abrogate. And therefore fince he did Institute a Priesthood and Religious Theories, and Institutes in no wife Civil among the Jews, by your Schemes, he was the basest of Traytors, and Tyrants; and as such to be Destroy'd, no Jew having Power in his State of Nature, to surrender up the Liberty of his Conscience, in matters of meer Religion to any Prince whatfoever, which is their Creature, only made in their own Fiat and Choice. Choice. How these noble Principles of Blasphemy come to be Dissembled here, and these Laws of God brought in for a Colour, to make all Religious Constitutions, else, mutable by the will of Men or Mob, on a specious Prefumption, that fuch is God's will for want of particular Civil Laws, in the Gospel of perpetual Intendment, you may do well to Reconsider, for the pretence is Groundless, and directly against Fact. For Christ has a Divine and Spiritual Kingdom, to last for ever, by Authority over which (without Earthly Empire) he has given Laws to the Conscience, for the Conduct even of our Hearts and Affections, in Acts which have no Transient or Sensible Operation upon any Subject without us; and for the Conduct of his Spiritual Subjects, he has appointed Hierarchical Orders and Offices, which in their own Nature are to continue till he bimself, and alone shall Reverse the Constitution, which it cannot be expected he shou'd do as long as the State of his Subjects needs Spiritual Conduct, which will be to the End of Mortality, for tis

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tis not to be supposed, that his sirst Constitution was too Impersect for its Ends, so that he must be Forced to Abrogate that, and set up a Better. However, all Christians, that are the Subjects of his Spiritual Sovereignty, must stay Obediently under this present State, and Form of Spiritual Theocracy, till he himself pleases to Cancel it; Else he will justly Avenge himself on such as will not that he shall Reign over them, at his coming to the last Judgment; tell which time his Labourers and his Stewards have the charge of his House, his Vineyard, Oc. for which they are then to Account.

Oyl, Abstinence from Blood, and things Strangled, and other things most Solemnly Commanded by the Apostles, are now laid aside, because not Moral, and therefore not of Eternal or Universal Obligation, why may not all other Positives of Ecclesiastical Policy, which are given to no purpose, if the Parties concern'd had not Power to apply 'em as they saw Occasion? Nor can any Scriptures bind

bind any Positives on all Mankind for Ever, because there are no Texts that extend 'em to all Future Generations. And if things, being barely enjoyn'd the first Disciples, affected Posterity, all things Required of them equally wou'd. Whereas, since particular Practices must be some time or other Inconsistent with General Rules, those must give Place to these. Ch. IV. S. 41, 42. P. 153, 154.

Dier. In all Origanical Societies, that are defigned for perpetuity to the World's End, as far as it lay in the Will and Defign of their Founders, some Constitutions are Fundamental and Effential, without which fuch a Society cannot Subfift in its Original Form and Frame. And of this Sort must be the Orders and General Powers of its Governours: Others are Adventitious, and Temporary, with respect only to the accidental Conveniences and Advantages aim'd at in their Constitution, which therefore are Variable according to the Various Complexions of Times and Junctures, &c. And fuch were those Topical Prescriptions which you

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you mention for Topical and Temporary Reasons, as other Institutes of Order, Decency, inferior Ministries, Modes of Worship, &c. which can never be proper to all Places and Ages. Such therefore the Spirit of God Directing his Apostles to Institute for those Times, in particular Places, to continue during the Reafons of their Institution, and no longer, left such Rules under the Power of the Apostles, and their Successors to continue, or Cancel them according to Emergent Exigences or Good Motives; and therefore the Apostolical Decrees against Blood, and things Strangled, and Meats Offered to Idols, are in many Places, where they were first Instituted, Antiquated, but in other parts continued under the Conduct of the Powers Hierarchical, upon the different Motives of Liberty and Scandal. But the Hierarchie is a Catholick Fundamental, not of meerly Apostolical Original in Matters subjected to them, but of Christ's Ordinance first laid in their Persons, on whom as a Foundation the Church was Built, and whose Authority therefore in their Successors, is rightly by

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St. Cyprian, still afferted as Fundamental to the Churches Sub
fiftence * and that in all 27. Edit. Goul. Places wherefoever Church- 5. 1. es have been or shall be Erected. In which the Ecclefiastical Structure is exact like that of Civil Societies. in respect of Subjects, save, that in one Fundamental Security 'tis much Firmer, in that 'tis not de jure liable to any Subvertion or Change by any Victorious Foreign Power, as Civil States are. Now that in fact God did Institute this Society of the Catholick Church under the Government of Hierarchical Orders, is for your Sakes a New in all particulars Described and Proved by the Learned Dr. Potter.

divested of this Right, 'tis not enough to shew the other Government contended for to be of the Apostolick Age, with Commands of Submitting to it, but to shew some positive Law depriving all Christians in all Ages, as Plain and Express as the Law of Nature, which gives the People this Right. Ch. IV. S. 45. P. 156.

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Diet. I wou'd fain know, where, and among what Churches, or Nations this Law of Nature is owned, as it ought, and wou'd have been in all, had there been any fuch. Tho' how Politive Offices of a meer Technical Society, especially such as shall Entitle us to Eternal Happiness, can' be determined by any Law Nature, without any Positive Constitution of God, requires a Sagacity, I believe, greater than even yours to discern. Here then I fix, and defie you to prove this Natural Right of Ecclesiastical Conduct in the People. tis in vain Persidiously to pervert the Scriptures or the Antients to purposes so Notoriously Opposed by them; and yet shou'd we allow 'em, yet they prove not these Rights Founded, and that expresly, in the Law of Nature. Now if it can't be proved they had any fuch Natural Right, which is many ways Naturally Impossible to be had or proved, then they never were Divested of it, nor cou'd be by any Law of God, which therefore is vainly required of us to Produce. But moreover your own Principles will not admit any, no

no not popular Government in meer Matters Ecclefiaftical and Religion, because in these by the Law of Nature every Man is free, and cannot be subjected by his own Will or anothers to any Act of a Representative, or Majority, but to his own Conscience only, and so every Man is his own Church, or a Church by himself. Well! but to be very Civil to the Rudest Hypothesis! Suppose, the People, Men, Women, and Children had fuch a Natural Right, the same must be Unalienable, or Alienable: If fimply Unalienable, even by God, 'tis vain to require a Divine Law for its Alienation; but if Alienable by God, as this Claim supposes, then I'le prove that God's Positive Constitution of the Hierarchie, with Commands of Submission thereto in the Apostolick Age, did actually Divest the People of that Natural Right, under all fuch Hierarchy of that Age, and if that Hierarchy was of perpetual Design to all Ages and Churches, as others have to a Demonstration proved, then your Natural Claims are Extinct by Divine Constitution, for they that are Subje-Eted by God to the Government of others,

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dent Misc gaini gress others, cannot Govern themselves, or their Neighbours, and much less their Governours, by their own Will or Authority. And now since the rest of this Chapter consists of false Pretences to Scripture and Antiquity, Artificial Slanders, and some sew Mens vain Caprices, and affected Notions in or against the Business and Originals of the Hierarchy, I do not think it worth my while to loose my Labour and marr a Discourse, by entring into such mean and uninstructive Scusses.

CHAP. V. Discuss'd.

The Clergies endeavouring at an Independent Power, not only prevents the further Spreading of the Gofpel, but is the Cause of it's having loss so much Ground.

Pem. PASS we now from the Abfurdities of fuch Independent Power in the Clergy, to the
Mischievous Consequences of it against Christianity it self, and its Progress into Heathen Countries, whose
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Unbelieving and Jealous Princes will never endure a Religion, by which they must be subjected either to Strangers, or their own Subjects. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that feveral Nations, who at first Tolerated Christianity, did afterward, when they found what the Clergy aim'd at, extirpate it with Fire and Sword; tho' they Tolerated other Religions every whit as Different from theirs. Ch. V. S. I, 2. P. 180, 181.

Dier. You wou'd have done well to have told us, what Nations you mean that thus Extirpated Christianity on this Provocation. For it does not feem that you intend it of the Primitive Times before the Empire became Christian, because you deny, that they then made any Profession of fuch their Independent Powers, especially to the Heathen Emperors, §. 3. So that 'tis probable you intend the Japanese Extirpation of Christianity, when they found out the Villainous Designs of the Jesuits to Extirpate the Heathens with Fire and Sword. And if so; how is this Fact Pertinent to a Claim only of an Ecclefiaftical Pow-

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not him er from God Independent, that is, un-derived from Man, and subsisting by Divine Commission. Therefore you ought to be Definite and Clear in your Instance, that the whole Cause in fact may be Examin'd, whether 'twas Occasioned meerly by this True Christian Principle, pure from all Imposturous Mixtures, Frauds, or Additions. But whatfoever any Barbarous, or Infidel Nations actually do, that does not ipfo facto Justify them, or Condemn our Principle, as I shall prove by the Sense of an Heathen Judge, who made the most Critical Trial of this Point in the very beginning of Christi-anity, and Pronounced it Innocent, and left his Judgment on Record to all Posterities. For in the Days of Pontius Pilate, the Roman Procurator of Judaa, the Jews brought Jesus before Pilate, and among other things Accused him for forbiding to pay Tribute to Cefar, faying that he himself is Christ a King, Luke 23. 2. And they thus Argue to the last against him, If thou let this Man Go thou art not Cefar's Friend, whosoever maketh himself a King, speaketh against Cesar. Joh.

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Joh. 19. 12. A Truth so certain, if Christ in owning that Character had invaded any of the Imperial Powers, that nothing cou'd have been more so, in the Judgement of Men. But Pilate, having by himself Examin'd Jesus in the Judgment Hall, about his being King of the Jews, Jesus owns that he was a King, but that his Kingdom was not of this World, for if it had been fo, his Servents (the Angels) wou'd have Fought, that he (bou'd not be delivered to the Jews; upon which Pilate went out to the Jews, and faid to them; I find in him no Fault at all, Joh. 18. 33, to 39. By which he left a precedent to all the Heathen, as well as all other Nations, that a Spiritual Kingdom, and its proper Authorities, do not prejudice any Secular or Imperial Powers, nor the Profession of them, give any Umbrage or Provocation unto Earthly Princes to their Punishment, while in all their Worldly Capacities they own themselves intirely Subject to the Civil Supreme as whose Power is given from above, as Christ own'd to Pilate, Joh. 19. 11. And is God's Ordinance, as St. Paul taught the Romans. Ch. 13.

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Dens. But further you are to Obferve, that if the first Revealers of this Religion, and their Successors, had all these Powers, Jurisdictions, Honours, Priviledges, Preeminences, &c. how cou'd the Christians have Asserted their Difinterestedness in Preaching the Gospel as an Argument for the Truth of it? The Greatest Glory Mortals are capable of, is to be thought the peculiar Favourites of Heaven, and to hold Communication with God, Authorizing them to Promulgate his Will to the whole World, to be revered therefore as the God who speaketh in them. But if the Revelation be fuch, that it gives the Revealers Power and Jurisdiction, Independent of any but God himlelf, in t How Fally, of any but God nimieli, in bow Invidious- all things they are pleas'd t to Term Spiritual; how can it be faid, that these Reyealers are Disinterested, or that their pretended Successors to this Power are Competent Witnesses, when no Court of Judicature allows the Testimony of those that have fuch Interest: And certainly in a Cause of this Consequence the Evidence ought to be as Difinterested, as in any of less Moment. Ch. V. S. 4, 5. P. 183, &c. 0 4 Bier.

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postles did claim such Powers, Honours, Priviledges, and Preeminences Spiritual is in fast certain, if their Histories be true. And consequently by you they were not to be Credited, meerely upon their own Evidence, much less by the Testimony of their pretended Successors claiming the same Powers, &c. so that the Rights of the Christan Church are to Renounce the Revelation of Christianity, made by Christ and his Apostles, as having no Competent Credit or Evidence.

Argument for the Credibility of their Successors, in their Testimony for the Revealers, from their Sufferings in Maintenance thereof. But alas! Men's Sufferings for such Opinions is not sufficient to support the Weight of 'em; of which Duels for Punctilio's, or mistaken Honours, Indian Women leaping into their Dead Husbands Funeral Flames, Vaninus and Effendi's Martyrdoms for Atheism, are convictive Arguments. Ch. V. §. 6. P. 184, &c.

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and his Apostles brought for themfelves before they Suffered, viz. the Testimony of God, by those Divine Works and Miracles which he wrought in and by them Publickly in the fight of the World. Our Lord himself pleads this Evidence against those Jews, Joh. 5. 36, 37. Joh. 10. 25, 37, 38. And when the Cavilling and Adulterous Generation of Jews required a fign of him, Matt. 16. 1, 4. Mar. 8. 11. even with Scorn and Infolence upon the Cross, Matt. 27. 40. to 44. They supposed that such wou'd be Evidences in themselves of Divine Credit. And if we receive the witness of Men, the witness of God is greater 1 Joh. 5. 9. So that our Lord had greater witness than that of John the Baptist, that went before him. Joh. 5. 36. in the Works of the Father which he performed; and his Apostles afterward by the Holy Ghost in Testimeny of his Name. So that Christ's and his Apostles Credit does not stand in the fole Evidence of their Successors (which did no Miracles, except that of Suffering) as you would Perfidioully Infinuate, for where those Sufferings insufficient to Justify their Veraracity,

racity, yet we have the prior and greater Evidences of Prophecy, God's Voice from Heaven, and Christ's and his Apostles Miracles and Piety. But let us fee what you have to fay a. gainst the Credit of Martyrdom in the Apostles Successors. Why! they are Parties by their Claims of Divine Authority which the' Imposturous, they might rather Dye then Confess 'em fuch. Well! allow that too! But how will this affect those infinite My. riads of Lay-People, Men, Women, and Children, that were in all the World, for good part of Three Hundred Years, every where Slaughter'd for owning the Powers of Christ and his Apostles first, and in their Episcopal Successors afterward, this being included in the Article of the Catholick Church; in which these Lay-Martyrs fuccessively from the Beginning claim'd no share to themselves? Beside, they did not voluntarily, tho' any animal Passion, run into Death, as feveral do thro' Rage or Love, but did it against all Passions and Natural Affections to the contrary, (as Octavius Testifies in Minucius Falix, Cruces nec colimus, nec optamus) up-OD

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on fuch Divine Reasons publickly given to all the Wife and Mighty upon Earth, as they were not able to Gainfay, for that 'twas not meerly the Sufferings, but the Flaming Divinity of that Wisdom, Courage, Candor, and Charity to their Perfecutors, and with Miracles they wrought that Aftonished, Confounded, Convinced, and at last Converted the Greatest, most Learned, and most Eager Persecutors. And none therefore, but a Man hardned unto utter Folly, wou'd have compared the passionate Madness of Duellists, and of superstitious Wives of the Heathens, and a sturdy Stubbornness of an Atheist or two, not Admir'd but Condem'd by all Wife and good Men for ever, thro' all Ages, with the Noble and Divine Army of Martyrs, whose Ashes and Tombs filenced the Devils Oracles. and were made the Foundations of Christian Churches, Erected to God's Glory and their Memory, as well after, as before, the Empire became Christian. You that wou'd match a few Mad People to these Armies, would no doubt have been the Primier and most Officious Counsellor in Ægyptian

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Ægyptian Court, to have Advised a Preference of Jannes, and Jambres, above Moses, and Aaron, to the hardning Pharaoh's Heart, to the Oppression of God's People, fince their Sorceries carried a much Nigher Resemblance to the Divine Miracles, than the Mad Sufferings of a few Confessed Wretches do to the Glorious Sufferings of Heavenly Martyrs, between which the Distance is not only Opposite but Extreme. And were I fure you believed the Story, I shou'd be strongly Tempted to think that you are the Side of those Two Magicians, an Artfull Wickedness being with you the only Admirable Grace and Perfection, and Divine Operations, the only Object of your Hatred and Blasphemy. But to come to your Noble Instances. Let but a good Law of Capital Punishment, or some what less Dreadful, as Publick Shame or Out-Lawry, be made, and executed against such Heroical, Supersticious, or Atheistical Courtiers of Death, I dare engage, it shall quickly Lose all its infatuated Votaries, while yet Christianity Maintained it self against all fuch Terrors of Humane Torture, and and noz

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and Ignominy, which Hobbistical, Spinozan, and Tindallian Principles will not dare to Endure.

CHAP. VI. Discuss'd.

That the Clergies Claiming an Independent Power, is of all Things the most Destructive to the Interest of Religion, and is the Cause of those Corruptions under which Christianity Labours.

this Observation, by renewing here my Popular Principle, that 'tis Absolutely Necessary to the Preservation of Religion in its Purity, that all the Power Man is capable of shou'd belong to the Laity, because they can have no Motive, no Temptation to Abuse it, by Corrupting it to Advance their secular Interest, which Interest must suffer Detriment by the least Deviation from the Purity and Sincerity of Religion. Ch. VI. §. 1. P. 190.

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Dier. Since you know I deny your Popular Right to all possible Power herein, you must give me leave to try the Force of your Reafons. And First of all, I believe all Men meet with Motives and Temptations to abuse the Purest Religion, and those in fact sometimes too prevalent. For are not the Lusts of the Flesh in every Man strong Temptations against the Purest and most Heroick precepts of the Christian Religion? Is not the Covetous Man willing to think his Covetousness the Vertues of Frugality, and an aspiring Man to Judge his Ambitions Glorious? Wou'd not the nature of Man in Common be apt to think Submission to Persecutions to be a Principle of Slavery, debasing the Mind as well as Oppressing the Body? And do not we find fingle Lay-Men Coin out Religious Notions, adapted to their Carnal Lufts, and thinking that God is such a one even as themselves, and fo go on, till they at length fix their Minds altogether in Principles of Irreligion? Nor is it to any purpose to pretend they can't do it, because ,tis against their Interest, when

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in fact they do fo. And how often do Men act, not only against the Common Interest, of Humane Nature and all Mankind, or the Nation and Society to which they belong, even that of their own Families and Persons, as do Prodigals, Drunkards, Whoremongers, Idle Persons, &c. But in Truth, Men, that are lead by the Motives of feeular Interest, reckon That their Interest, which they most of all Affect to Enjoy, which with the General Multitude are their Vices, and that which Ministers to them, and will not the great Strictness and Purity of true Christian Religion deprive them of these? And to enjoy these will they not be Tempted to the leaft Deviation from the Purity of our Religion, nor look upon fuch Deviation as a Detriment to that supposed Interest, which they must lose without some such Deviation? But if you mean in mere Speculations and Positives which affect no Worldly Interest. may not pure and true Speculations be Corrupted in the Mind of a Lay-man, either by the Delusions of Satan, or his own Weakness, and other Mens Fallacies and Deceits, contrary Principles, and Speculations

Speculations cannot both be True and Pure, and yet Lay-men often fall into fuch, where no Priest guides 'em, and those that are False must be Corrupt, even tho' according to you there is no Danger in Corruption by any meer Error, after impartial Examination. Whether therefore pure Religion is to be guided by fecular Interest or no, yet may it be deviated from by fuch as are ignorant of its Conduct, and its Tendency to that their Interest which the many generally are, and not only the many but the mighty sometimes, Witness the late King James, and Augustus, late Dethroned King of Poland, in their Deviations from their Religion upon false Interests. But had this Popular Power in Religion been so absolutely Necessary, to the preservation of its Purity, how came it to pass that Almighty God committed the Conduct of the Jewish Religion to the Priests, exclusively of the Laity, and of the Minor Levites too in the Superior Offices of it, as in the Instances, and according to your Principles, against the Right of Dathan, Abiram, and Corah. And how came our Lord to Commit the Affairs

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Affairs of Religion to his Apostles, and these again to Transmit it to the Hierarchie, as in fact was done, and hath been proved to you beyond all Possibility of Doubt. Moreover, by the like Reasoning 'twill Follow, that all Civil Power Man is capable of, shou'd be in the body of the People, because they can have no Motive or Temptation to abuse it, to be Tyrannical, Unconstant, or Unjust, because . 'tis against their Temporal Interest? i. e. there can be no Thieves, Robbers, Adulterers, Rebels, &c. And if this which fact so Universally Refutes had been True, why did Men freely choose to come out of a Natural into a Civil State, if they cou'd have Sustein'd no Injury in the Natural, upon these Pretentions.

Dem. But 'tis the Clergies Interest to have Religion Corrupted, because they as such have no other way to Lord it over their Brethren. Ch. VI. S. 2. P. 190.

Her. But this supposes it Absolutely and Universally Certain (fince all Men pursue their proper Interests

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rests) that all Priests whatsoever must profess a False, none a True Religion, neither Christ nor his Apostles excepted. It must also suppose that no Priest does, or can Believe a Future State of Eternal Rewards and Punishments, nor a True Religion necessary to direct us to those Rewards the Corruption of which for Worldly Interests must not only Forfeit those Rewards, but ex. pose the Corrupters to those Punishments. For on such a Belief it must be his Greatest, his Eternal Interest to preserve it's Purity, against all Worldly Interests Tempting him to the con-And hence as all Christians were in fact Persecuted at first for the Purity of their Religion, even to the Cheerful Loss of all Things, for the fake of Future Glory, so the Bishops and Priests led the Van in those Martyr'd Armies, when there was no possibility of Lording over their Brethren. I conclude with noting, that to the Exclusion of all Civil Magistrates, you may as well at least say (and you are daring enough) that tis the Interest of all Princes and Magistrates, to Corrupt the Laws, and

and Destroy the Rights of the People because they have no other way to Lord it over them, and therefore 'tis as naturally Impossible for them to do otherwise, as 'tis for Priests not to Corrupt Religion, and then you have completely fitted your felf for Civil Advancements. Now the Remainder of this Chapter confisting only in Malicious Reflexions on all Synods, and the Tragedies of Ill and Heretical ones, imputed to all the Clergy, and to the Innocent, rather than the Wicked, (which are your especial Favourits) without Taxing Temporal Powers and Violences, as the chiefest Causes of those Evils, &c. according to my usual way I shall take no Notice of it, but Proceed to the next Chapter.

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CHAP. VII. Discuss'd'

That this Hypothesis, of an Independent Power, in any Set of Clergy Men, makes all Reformation Unlawful, except those, who are supposed to have this Power do Consent.

Dem. IF the Clergy have their Power from God, none but he can take it away; which can be only by Revelation; which being never to be Expected, Men must for ever pay their Obedience to their Ecclesiastical Governours, notwithstanding the most False and Heretical Doctrines, or the most Wicked or Impious Terms of Commuinon. But the Light of Nature, as well as the Gofpel, obliges People to Judge themselves, and to take heed what they hear, to try the Spirits, to avoid and flee False Prophets, Seducers, Deceivers, and blind Guides, &c. Ch. VII. S. 1, 8. P. 232. 233, 236.

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Dier. The Tenure of the Clergy in their Powers, is fuch only as God has given 'em, and no other which was not absolutely Unlimitted, or Unaccountable, but confin'd to antecedent Publick Principles and Offices of Divine Constitution, which if they Violate they incurr the Merit of Forfeiture, either of the Power or its Exercise. Thus St. Paul, tho' we or an Angel from Heaven, Preach any other Gospel unto you, let him be be Accursed. Gal. 1.8, 9. They then that Violate the Principles of the Covenant of Grace, Establish'd in the Church by the Apostles, Merit this Curse, which imports Forfeiture of Grace, Offices, and Order, and fo are to be as Pests abandoned by their Churches, and on their Application to Superiors, or in want of them, to Social Bishops, these on the Evidence of such Crimes are to Grant and Constitute others in their Places. But if Distress of Times and Circumstances Obstructs fuch Remedy, the Laity can only Defert the Impostor, and seek if possible a Neighbour Communion, bearing the Infelicity with Patience and Humiliation, and must not Usurp an Authority. rity, which God never gave them. And this is enough to Reply to all your popular Claims in this Chapter.

But what fay you to the Dent. Eighth Chapter?

Nothing, for 'tis not my Business to be Concerned at Spiteful Calumnies, and Declamations, and and so proceed we to the Ninth.

CHAP. IX. Discuss'd.

That this Hypothesis, of none being capable to Govern the Church, except Bishops, and that none can be Bishops, except those that derive their Power by a Continued and Uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Church.

7ELL then! If Bishops only can Govern the Church, then no Society, without Episcopal Government, can be a Church, and all the Reformed, (who have

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have 'em not) have got by their Separation from the Church of Rome. is to Unchurch themselves by throwing off a Government, which is effential to the Church of Christ. Ch. IX. S. 4. P. 214.

Dier. Altho' by all Laws in the World, I may refuse to Answer all enfnaring Questions, and tho' you hereby defign to raife up those Churches to our Ruine, that so you may afterward the more feafibly Ruine them; yet for the fake of doubtful Consciences I will freely deliver my Sentiments, with the Humblest Submission to our own Church, and above all to the Catholick. First then I Answer, that no Churches are Unchurched, for throwing off Bishops, who impose finful Terms of Communion; and meer want of better Bishops, also, does not deprive them of any Right to any Ecclefiastical Commerce or Communion. So that their Blemish does not consist barely in this. But Two Things there are in which they Offend; one is, that they Neglect or Refuse to have Bishops, the other is, that they took upon them

to Ordain some by Lay-men, some by Presbyters, and both upon Principles fet up by their Teachers, contrary to the Catholick Order and Sense of all Churches, from the Beginning. So that, if there be no Necessity Pleadable for all, or for any, these Disorders to excuse them, their Cause is already Condemned by the Fundamental Principles of the Catholick Church, recognized against Presbyters Ordination, in the Synod of Alexandria, in the Case of Ischyras, Ordained by Colluthus, as against all Unepiscopal Ordinations in the Council of Sardica, in the Case of such as had been by meer mistake Ordain'd by two Impostors Musaus, and Entychian. Now no necessity can be pretended for their Writing or Preaching against the Catholick Churches Notions and Principles of the Divine Right and Necessity of Bishops; for this they might have own'd in the ordinary course of Things, and made their Exceptions only on their own Insuperable Exigences. All fuch Preachers and Authors therefore wou'd have been Rank'd with Aerius, as Hereticks, in the Primitive Days, and so de jure

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are to be Reputed by all Churches now, and all their Laity that have Espoused their Anti-Catholick Notions. The Equity therefore that may feem proper to be allow'd, is only to fuch as may be supposed Innocently Ignorant of the Right, or that do really own and defire it, but are over Born by Irrefistible Power. And then the Question will arise what Validity there is in their Ordinations, and Ministration of Sacraments, and their Orders; and this in a double respect; 1st, Of their Form; Of their Effects. And first of all we cannot find by any Rule of Scripture, Tradition, Catholick Custom or Canon, that they have any Validity of Form, nor of Effect except only in Baptism, which, tho' performed by Lay-men in absolute necessity, either in or out of Schism, is so far allow'd in the Western Church, as not to be Reiterated, tho' fo Defective as to need the Purgation, Absolution, and Confirmation of the Bishop, to give it Vertue and Grace in the Unity of the Church. But because such Force never lay upon any Churches till the Reformation, therefore we can have

no Judgment of these new Cases in former Councils. All therefore, that is to be considered, is, how far it may be Indulged by the Divine E. quity, and thereupon Two Things may exercise an Ecclesiastical Casuits: First, whether any Dangers or Distresfes will prevail with God to Excuse Men in neglecting such Ordinances of his, as he has made Fundamental to the Structure and Conduct of Christiany in the Unity of his Church? Whether he will not require Martyrdom of us in adhereing to this as well as other his Institutions? That he may abate of that Strickness is not to be denied; but that he will abate to those that know his Laws, no Man can prove, Humane Reason not being able to determine his positive Will. The Second Question is, whether they are under fuch a fatal Necessity as they pretend, or as may be so great as to attain such a supposible Indulgence in God, which tis difficult for us to guess at, except they that expect the benefit of fuch Divine Indulgence, have publickly, and to their utmost done all they can with the Powers of this World

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World to obtain Bishops. The utmost lenity therefore, we can with any Reliance presume upon from God, is to the absolutely Ignorant and pious, that he may give them Grace in the Participation of those Irregular Ordinances of which their Teachers can have no ground of Confidence, because they ought not in fuch Ignorance to undertake fuch a Ministry, as requires such a knowledge of Ecclefiastical Order. 'Tis therefore doubtful, whether any Church or Churches can determine in the Favour of any but Innocent Ignorants, and much more whether they can allow any formal Validity in their Orders, Offices, or Constitution, and if it be not certain that Churches can do fo, much less can any private Persons undertake Our Church therefore, afferting her own Foundations, has thought fit to pass no Judgment on Foreign Models, either in their Favour or Prejudice, being neither Consulted nor Impugned by them, and fo not Obliged in Prudence to Raise a Storm by any publick Determination to no purpose. In which therefore we shall

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do well to take her for a Pattern, while yet all Churches and Divines may do as well, in utmost Charity to labour with them, to remove the Scandal, hereby given to the Papists and us too, that so Reforming herein they may be sure that they shall be (not Impersect or no Churches, but) Persect and Entire Churches before God and Man; whereas if we still Cocker em in their Blemishes, we shall attract a great Guilt, and almost certainly a second Ruine on our felves.

Bishops at the time of our Reformation, the Protestants were Schismaticks on your own Rules. Ch. IX. S. 4. P. 316.

Bishops of this Church, till the Forfeiture of their Stations (Merited by their Corruptions) was actually taken, or laid hold on by this Church; and so their Title actually continuing in a formal and peaceable Possession, as other Forseited Estates and Offices before Seisure are wont to do. But after after Forfedaine Eject came ed B and were turic and and

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after this Church actually took the Forfeiture, and Protestant Bishops Ordained others for it, instead of the Ejected, the New Ordained Bishops came in fairly upon the forementioned Rule of St. Paul, to the Galatians, and the Form, by which Successors were Ordained to the Churches of Asturica, and Emerita, upon the Popular and Clerical Rejection of Martialis, and Basilides, for their Lapse into Idolatry.

Shismaticks, they cou'd be no Medium for Apostolical Succession, and so ours are no Bishops, that were Ordained by 'em. Ch. IX. S. 8. P. 318.

Schism, one of subject Christians, from their Governours and Liturgical Communion, without valid Causes, and this puts a Man into an actual State of Schism from the whole Catholick Church, in no part of which hath he any Right of Communion, and these are the Schisms mentioned in the Scriptures. The other is between equal Sister Churches upon Disagreement

greement in Usages, or opposite Canons Extrinsical to the Essentials of Christianity, as P. Victor, Excommunicated the Quartadeciman Asians, and Pope Stephen, the Rebaptizers, which confifts only in a denial of External Commerce, which does by no means Unchurch either side. Beside, all Offences, that give a just Cause fuch Separation of Churches, or Bishops, from such equal and fraternal Communication, do not constitute the Offender a Schismatick in this second Sense, till the Offended for want of Satisfaction does so Separate, and after that the Offender refusing to Heal the Breach becomes the Schismatick, But this does not Extinguish his Authority over his own Laity and Clergy, nor separate them from their Title and Interest in the Church Catholick. Now when Popish Bishops Ordain'd among us, they were in no actual State of Schism here, and therefore their Ordinations were Valid, and themselves proper Mediums of Succession, notwithstanding the Schism between the Greek, Eastern, and Roman Churches, in which the Roman certainly is, and the others very probably for rath not on are foe the Eff Di no the care

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probably are Faulty; which being but of the equal, and the fraternal fort, between the Communities, or rather their respective Heads, does not Unchurch them, or their Bishops on either side, so that all their Offices are Valid and Canonical; how great foever their Corruptions may be while they preserve the Fundamental and Essential Points of Christianity; the Divine Purity of God's Ordinances not being defilable by the fins of their Ministers, and having their Efficacy, not from the Goodness of Men, but the Grace and Power of God, as appears by the Sacrifices Offered at the Altar by Hophni, and Phineas, and other Wicked Priefts.

Twenty Third Article of our Religion defines the Church to be a Congregation of Faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is Preach'd, and the Sacraments duly Administred according to Christ's Ordination, in all that of Necessity are requisite to the Same. Can we apply this to the Papists. &c, (b. IX. S. 10. P, 319.

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Diet. This Article must be Iterpreted according to the Notorious Intention of our Church in those Days, which was positively to affert and prove our selves to be a True Church against the contrary charge of the Romanists, and therefore ought not to be ftretch'd beyond that Intention to a Negative Sense, that the Church of Rome, or any other corrupt Churches are not Churches in verity of Essence, because of their Adventitious or Intermixt Pollutions. For in this Sense it wou'd Unchurch almost all Eastern, and Western, Popish, and Reformed Churches, which furely was never the Intent of the Article. The Traditional Corruptions of the Jewish Priests and Elders did not destroy the Essence tho' they Marr'd the Purity of the Jewish Church, and such is the State of all Corrupt Christian Churches in the World.

with a better Grace pretend to be a True Church than the Papilts, as not so abominably Corrupting the Old and New Testament, by the Sentiments of Mahomet, as these by

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by their Oral Traditions, and Decrees of their Infallible Church, &c. Ch. IX.

in the Days of K. James; but upon second Thoughts the Mussel-Men are purer Christians, because they do deny the Trinity, and Incarnation and Deity of Christ, (Postponing him to Mahomet) and almost all the other Articles of our Creed, Ergo they are a true Church, or truer than that of Rome. Probatum.

Dent. It must be no small Diverion to the Papists, that their Adveraries Labour to do their Work for
them, by striving to prove em a
rue Church, tho they look on us as
a meer Lay-mob, and Schismaticks.
And hope to be Restored by us on this
Principle, than which there cannot be a
better for their turn, and to Proselyte
us over to them, with the Increase of
which Principle, the danger of Popery
math also encreased. Ch. IX. §. 18. P.

122, 323.

Dier. But you have been heard

to fay, that we allow this to the Church of Rome, because upon pur Hypothesis of Succession, we find it Ne. cessary to Support our own. Well, be it so; How then are we to be Blanded in Point of Prudence, fince Truth alfo Requires and Afferts a Necessity of Succession, which no Corruptions of Bishops can Destroy, while they are in Legal Possession of their Stations into which they were Validly and Canonically Fix'd. 'Tis therefore a very Justifiable Prudence to affert all Truths Necessary to Defend our own Cause. But however such Candid Concession of Truth even to Adversaries, that Refuse us the same Equity, will be Naturally apt to convince all Impartial, and Generous Romanists, that we are Sincere, and that will be the First Great Motive to their Conversion, or at least ought to be so. It the Romish Engineers shou'd Fancy the contrary, as 'tis here Fancied for em, they are like enough to be Deceived, and they are so Apprehensive thereof, that ever fince the Days of Richelieu, the Romish Councils have been practiced by French Art, and Interests, to advance the Dissenters, and

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thei thoi the and by them to Work our Ruine, and in course of Time Gradually to Reinstate themselves thereby. However, Truth is Inslexible, and Courts and Fears no Parties, having God for it's Guardian, on whom her Votaries ought constantly to Depend.

of your Plea for the Succession, did not our Bishops, that Renounced the Romish Communion, quit all the Power and Jurisdiction they got by being in that Church? Ch. IX. §. 19. P. 323.

Church in her Corruptions, were never Bishops (properly speaking) of or in the Church of Rome, which has, and Canonically can have but one at a Time, but they were Bishops of this Church, and made so while this Church was under Romish Corruptions, which Corruptions when they Renounced, they did not Renounce their Character, Order, or that Authority, and Jurisdiction, out of which the Popish Revolution in the Days of

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ve nd Queen Mary, forced'em; but by Vertue of their Power of Episcopal Orders they Confecrated Arch-Bishop Parker, and others, and took Sees themselves Forseited by the Papists, and therefore seized by the Church, and supplied with Successors under the Conduct of the Queen.

as much Power to Deprive, or to Degrade those Bishops they Ordain'd who after turn'd Protestants, and by a Competent Authority, and by a Valid, tho' not a just Sentence, Ch. IX. §. 20. And so those Censures in Queen Maries Time were sufficient to Unmake 'em Bishops.

Unjust Sentence, tho' in Form Valid till Reversed, not only may, but ought to be Validly Revers'd. But 'tis not only competent Authority that is necessary to make Acts Judicial Valid, but there must be Laws upon which, and Rules by which the Judges are to Proceed. And as to Laws, the Divine are first to take Place, and none against 'em; and an Ecclesiastical

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gai Suc cal Sentence therefore past against such Law is ipso facto publickly, formally, and totally Null, Invalid, and of no Force, such as all Judgments against Protestants for renouncing Romish Corruptions notoriously are, and ever were. And because Instances easier strike the Sense than General, and perhaps Obscure Propositions, put the Case any one be Judicially Censured for Professing any Article of the Creed as the Unity of God, and the rest, or for resusing Idolatry, such Sentence will appear as well Invalid as Unjust.

Dem. But what fay you to Mr. Dodwell's Pleas, on this Case, and my Answers to 'em, not Omitting Dr. Hody's Notions also in several Sections? from P. 325, to P. 332.

Notions, and so are not concern'd for their Justification. Mr. Dodwell is alive, and of Age enough to speak for himself, but we are not bound to all his singular Opinions.

gainst the Principles, and your Title of Succession. Nothing can be more sense.

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less, than the Notion of a Bishop without a Bishoprick, because that carries Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction, which supposes Obedience and Subjection, and 'tis perfect Contradiction to suppose each Bishop to be Bishop, not of a part only, but of the whole Catholick Church. And worse still, that Bishops Lawfully Deprived are still Bishop's; 'tis like Kings without Kingdoms, or a Right to any, and each one King of the whole World, and that can make as many fuch Kings as he Please, so that each deprived Bishop may make every Man in the Nation as good a Bishop to all intents and purposes as themselves. Ch. IX. §. 28, 29. P. 332.

a particular Local District, 'tis false in fact, and in the Original Constitution of this Order, that it Essentially Requires such a correlate District. Our Saviour was Constituted by his Father the Supreme Bishop of our Souls, not only while he Lived in Judaa, but even now in the Heavenly Throne without any such District. And the Apostolacy implied an Episcopacy

copacy, Acts 1. 20, without any Dioceses. Nay, in Truth they were all made Bishops, before they had any Spiritual Subjects to be Governed by them. That is, there Commission was to gather Subjects, and govern them being gathered, as a Captain may have to Lift, and Command Souldiers by him Lifted, or a Commissioner to gather, plant, and rule a Co-lony of his own Collection. Our Saviour Christ (as God) was ever King of the Jews from the Days of Abrabam, Isaac, and Jacob, in whose Loins they were, and whose secular Seed they being were adopted by God, for a Peculium, long before Moses was Born. And being to take upon him our Nature, in that Nature he was Born King of the Jews in the most Spiritual Sense of that Character, which he own'd before Pilate; yet till his Baptism he acted not at all as such a King, nor Collected any Subjects. You have been told that Frumentius was Ordain'd at Alexandria, by Athanasius Bishop for the Interior Indians, where the Roman Merchants had made fome Converts, and he had Built 'em a Church or House of Prayer. And that

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the like was done for the Iberians. I can add, that one Milles, of a Souldier became a Devout Man, and was a Bishop in a Persian City, were among those Heathens he suffered many Tortures, but yet cou'd not perfwade one to become Christian, at which greatly Offended, he Departed leaving his Curse upon the City, which not long afterward was ut-H Soz. Eccl. terly Razed, and Ploughed Hift. 1.2.2 12. up by the King; | and that one Moses was thus Ordained Bishop for the Saracens, * and all * Theodoret these, and many others in E. H. l. 4. x. the Course of History are 1.4. x. As. Soz. found made Bishops for B. H. I. 6. K. People to be Converted be-24. fore any Assignation of Districts. And whereas in the second place, you fcout it as Contradictory, that every Bishop shou'd be Bishop of and all over the Catholick Church, as the Apostles certainly were, 'tis broad and fenfeless Insolence. A Christian, made so by Baptism, is every where a Member of the Church Catholick, tho? his Acts of Christian Worthip in every particular Church, where he shall happen to be must be

determined by the local Constitutions of it; as the Offices and Ministries of Bishops in other Diocesses, in which by Canonical Permission of the proper Bishop, they may perform all Episcopal Functions without a particular Investure in the See. The Dr. of a Faculty in one University, and a Publick Notary, are admitted for such all the World over where such Faculties and Offices are in Use, and the Acts of a Notary are valid Evidence by the Jus Gentium every where. And perhaps these Accordances took their rise from the Church-Flatforms herein. Nor does the most just and valid Deprivation of Districts alone Destroy these Essential and Internal Powers, which in their own Nature and course are antecedent to Investure in fuch Sees; for notwithstanding such Deprivation of one See, they may by Permission, still exercise their Powers in another or in places yet without Churches, without any other Man's Permission, in Order to those Ends for which their Powers were given them. In places therefore not yet Christian they can, as the Apostles did, constitute Bishops and Ministers of thole

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those that shall hereafter believe, as Clemens Romanus words it. And vainer yet it is to infer, that they may make all Men Bishops, and so leave no Minor Clergy, or Laity. For the validity of Ordination stands not meerly in the bare Act of the Ordainer, but in all the other Matters that are Essential to fuch a Dignity, as Ability to Teach, Judge, &c. And this in ordine and curum animarum, and under the Rules of Order and not Confusion, of which last as God is not the Author, so neither does he Authorize Man to be. And this is more than the greatest Kings can do de jure without their proper Deminions, or by permission within those of other Princes, so that your Resemblance herein not being Adequate, nor Parallel, the Defects of Kings herein cannot Impeach the Catholick Plenitude of the Episcopal Power.

be only Humane, a Bishop's Right to it cannot be Divine, and so both the Relatives, which can't subsist one without the other, must be of the same Origin. Ch. IX. §. 30. P. 333.

Dier. It has been already proved, that a Bishop, and a District are not effentially correlate, and yet if they had, this Argument could have had no force. For for the first three Centuries 'tis Plain the Apostles, and their Successors divided the Districts by a Divine Right, on which the Apostles began the Practice, in Timothy, and Titus, and the Angels of the Seven Churches of Asia. And this custom continued in Practice on the same Right for many following Centuries, and the Right still continues, and can never dye. If then in the Coalition of Civil States and Churches the Powers Secular will either kindly or forcibly affign Districts, 'tis the acceptance of the Church and her Bishops, that gives the Constitution its Ecclesiastical form, as from the beginning, and this being founded on a Divine Right, and the Acts which essentially Constitute a Man Bishop of such a District, makes the Relation not Civil only but Sacred too, and therefore founded on Divine Right and Apostolical Original.

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Divine Right and Catholick Constitution appears hence, that the Famous Alexandrian Church, for the first 235 Years had no Bishops, but who had Hands laid on them by Presbyters only. Eutych. Annal. Edit. Pocock. P. 328. Hieron. ad Evagr. P. 85. Ch. IX. §. 35. P. 338.

Diet. You may please to Remember, that this matter has been exquifitely fifted by the most learned Men of all sides of this Question, and that for Eutychius you are for your Satisfaction directed by the Learned Dr. Hickes, to Morinus, Abraham Ecchellensis against Selden, and Dr. Hammond's Differtation against Blondel, and Bishop Pearson's Vindication of Ignatius's Epistles. + Dr.H. Pref. And as for St. Hierom's P. clvi, clvii. account, as it agrees not with Eutychius, so most Learned Men have look'd on it as a loofe unexamined Tradition. And herein I refer you to your Dear Friend the Bishop of Sarum, (notwithstanding his Exposition of the Twenty third Article) III in his Annotations on the first Apostolical Canon. But because these Papers may come into such hands, as those Learned Authors never did, therefore will I present you with an abstract of their Theories herein, with some Observations of my own also; the even Blondel's and Dallee's Notions cannot serve your Hypothesis.

First Eutychius and St. Hierom do both agree in their Tradition, that very early in fome fuccessions the Presbyters of Alexandria did choose one of themselves, and named him Bishop; but herein they differ, that Eutychius adds, that they ordained him by Imposition of hands, which St. Hierom does not fay, tho' it had been absolutely and more fully to his Purpose for the total Identity of Bishops and Presbyters, had his Tradition reported any fuch Ordination performed by those Presbyters. Nay, fince to this Tradition he Immediately adds this Interrogative. What does a Bishop do which a Presbyter does not, except Ordination? It appears, that his exception was universal, not excepting the Church of Alexandria

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Alexandria in this Constitution of their Bishop, and consequently must suppose, that the Presbyters, that Chofe, Advanced, and Nominated one of themselves, to be Bishop, did not do it by the form of Ordination. And the Simile which St. Hierom explains Notion of the Tradition, is of an Army choosing an Emperour, and as if Deacons did choose one themselves, and call him Arch - Deacon, while yet the fame Father fays, that Deacons cannot ordain; + Souldiers did not Advers Lu. use to Anoint, Crown, or effertan Nul. Ium Clericum Inaugurate the Emperours diaconus potest which they Chose. As ordinare Ecclefia autem non therefore St. Hierom is near est qua non ba-500 Years Elder and a 1000 beat Sacerdo. times more Learned and tem. Let for. reign Societies Judicious than Eutychius, look to this. fo his Authority herein must as much overbalance him in this difference of this Tradition, that the Presbyters Chose, Advanced, and Named one of themselves Bishops without any their Imposition of Hands, or any form of Ordination. The Question thence arising then is, whether

whether by St. Jerome's Tradition, there was no consequent Episcopal Ordination? And here as his Words do not affirm there was, fo neither do they Deny it, nor does his Cause require it. For he brings this Custom at Alexandria as a Proof that Presbyters have an Identity of Order with Bishops, and so far Superiour to that of Deacons, tho' it feems a tertain Deacon had set himself before Presbyters, the greater Paucity and Riches of Deacons being apt to incline some of them to this Presumption, and for which it feems this prefumer (against whom St. Hierom wrote to Evagrius) alledged a Practice in the greatest of Cities, viz. Rome. Nay, it appears by the 18th Canon of the rst General Council at Nice, that in fome Places and Cities, Deacons gave the Eucharist to Presbyters, and even took it before the Bishops, without any Canon or Custom, which this Canon therefore Corrects, reducing them to the Rules of their Order under and after Bishops and Presbyters, on pain of being Depofed from the Diaconate. Now this unnamed Deacon fo Transgressing against

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the Dignity of Presbyters, gave occation to St. Hierom to affert Presbyters to be Bishops, as to the same Holy Or. der, and so widely Superior to the Order of Deacons. To prove this Idenrity he takes this Course; ist in Quoting these Texts, Phil. 1. 1. Acts 20. 28. Tit. 1. 5, 7. 1 Tim. 4. 14. 1 Pet. 5. 1. 2 Joh. 1. 3 Joh. 1. very Crudely without any Discussion, and in meer Politive Presumption, that they Patronized this his Notion. This therefore is to be fet a fide as a weak and uncertain Conjecture. But if we look closer into that Order in which he Places the Identity, and yet Maintains the fole Power of Ordination, and Supreme Regimen to Bishops over Presbyters, we shall then find the proper Key to open his True Sense, and the same sufficient to repress the Deacons Insolence. He then Places the Common and fame Order of Bishops, and Priests in the Priefthood, strictly and properly fo called by Vertue of which the Christian Offerings and Eucharift are Consecrated; And the Deacons Order and Offices not arising hereto, stays only below in the Inferior Offices

Offices of Ministring under the Priestly Order; As Aaron and his Sons were of the Priestly Order, and the other Levites but Ministers to them. So the Comparison is not defign'd between Bishops and Presbyters as the two Opposites, but between Presbyters, (who enjoy the Priesthood with the Bishops) and Deacons, who have no share in such Confecration, but are meer subservient Ministers, as the Levites of the Priests. For so he Distinctly Expresses himself, Quid patitur, O.c. 'What 'ails the Minister of Widows and Tables, that he should swell and ' lift himself up above those at whose Prayers, the Body and Blood of Christ [Conficitur] is Consecrated. 'He that is Promoted, is Promoted from a less to a greater Station. Therefore of a Presbyter, let a Man be Ordained Deacon, that the Presbyter may appear less than a Deacon, or if from a Deacon a Man be Ordained Presbyter; let him know se lucris Minorem, SACERDO-'TIO esse Majorem, that the' by becoming a Presbyter he is less as to Gains, yet he is greater as to · the R

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the PRIESTHOOD. And that we may know, that the Apostolical 'Traditions are taken from the Old ' Testament, that which Aaron, and ' his Sons, and Levites were in the 'Temple, that let Bishops, Presbyters, ' and Deacons, claim to themselves ' in the Church. So that he makes two Classes, one of Priests, in which he places Aaron, and his Sons, as Superior to the Inferior Class of meer Levites in the Temple; and fo in the Church one Class of Priests confisting of Bishops and Presbyters, Superior to the Inferiour Subservient Class of Deacons. But as in the same Class of Priests, it was impossible for him to make all Aaron's Sons equal to him, and his Successors High-Priests in all particular Powers, so neither does he pretend fuch an Universal Equality between Bishops and Presbyters in the same Class of Priesthood, but even in this strong fit of Zeal does yet except Ordination, and makes the Distinction between a Bishop and Presbyters as great as that be-Aaron and his Sons. This common Identity of Priest - Hood therefore being laid as a Principle, he then

then Proceeds to shew how one was after Chosen to preside over the Rest to Prevent, or Remedy Schism. For fays he, 'at Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist unto Heraclas, and Dionyfius, Bishops thereof, the Pres-' byters always Named one Bishop ' chosen out of themselves, and placed ' in an Higher Degree, * * So far his even as if an Army make an Emperour, or Deacons choose from among themselves one, ' whom they know to be Industrious, and call him Arch-+ This is his ' Deacon. † In both which own Simile. Tradition and Simile, as here is no Affertion of any Confecration or Inauguration, consequent to such Election, so neither is it denied. Only the Jus and the Title to this Superiority is Afferted, as Founded in these Elections of the Presbyters, the Army, the Deacons. But as Religious Emperours in those Days might well defire a Solemn Inauguration upon such Election; and if in fact any Arch-Deacon ever were by the permission of a Bishop, so Chosen any where, he must receive

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from some Act of the Bishop, so that the Title to the Bishoprick of Alexandria was granted to one of the Presbyters there, by the Election of the Rest, yet nothing appears in St. Hierom, against his after Consecration by other Bishops. For this Tradition of this early Custom at Alexandria, is brought only to prove, that Bishops were set over Priests, to prevent or stop Schisms, which either did, or would certainly follow from an absolute Parity without a Superior, which must be by a Tradition from the Apostles, on which Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons are the same in the Order and State of the Church, that Aaron, and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, in which Aaron did not derive his Power and Superiority from his Sons, but from God, by the Pontifical Confectation of Moses. But as his Words run, and the Simile Illustrates his Sense, these Presbyters alone chose one of themselves, fet him in an Higher Degree, and named him Bishop, so that his Place, Authority, and Character Episcopal, may seem Granted by the meer Acts

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of the Presbyters, and so there was nothing else Acquirable by any other Ordination, and so no need, or use of it. The nicety of which Note lies in this, that they are said to Name him Bishop that was thus Advanced and Chosen out of them. But that this is not Consummative of all that is Necessary appears hence, that even here upon the Election of a Bishop, by the Chapter Returned and Confirmed above, he is called Lord Bishop Elect, before his Consecration. And he that is effectually Entitled to a Bishoprick by his Election, may well be called its Bishop Inchoatively before his Confecration, because that is certainly to Follow. And if in the Church of Alexandria, the Presbyters alone did all this that St. Hierom's Tradition reports in the Constitution of a Bishop, it follows, that they are of the same Essential Order of Priesthood with the Bishop, even in this High Office, thereof Committed to them (as it must be supposed) by St. Mark or Anianus, or both, and fo vastly Superior to Deacons, who at Alexandria had no share in this great Affair, which is a R 3 **fufficient**

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sufficient Argument against the Parity or Preference of Deacons, tho' an after Consecration by Bishops be Supposed, or had been Asserted to follow fuch Election. And now perhaps it may not be amis, to consider what shou'd move St. Hierom, upon this Insolence of one Deacon, against the Presbyters, to run up the Character of Presbyters fo High, as to give a great Umbrage of Offence as to Beard the Bishops, by seeming to deal as a Presbyter with Bishops, as that Deacon had dealt with Presbyters. And the rather, that the whole Design and Argument of the Epistle may be the better understood, which feems fufficiently Confused on a superficiary Reading. 'Tis therefore a good Hint that the Learned Dr. Lowth gives hereupon, that probably some Bishops Kindnesses and Encouragements to the Deacons, that continually attended them, might Embolden them to fuch Contempt of the Presbyters, and his Quarrel with John Bishop of Jerusalem, might make St. Hierom less Respectful to bis Order. Certain it is, that St. Hierom had been Inform'd, that one Deacon

Deacon had so Trampled the Presbyters, which cou'd not be done (at least, with Impunity) without the Connivence at least, if not the partial Countenance of his Bishop. Who this Deacon, and who his Bishop was, we no more know, than we do of Evagrius his Person, Place, or Character. But if there might be any 'tis likely that Room for Gueffing, John of Jerusalem might be the Bishop that Countenanced or Connived at this Insolence against some of his Presbyters, that Favour'd St. Hierom's Cause against himself, at whose Presumption, herein, he might be Offended, as he was against St. 7e. rom's Indecencies toward him in that Quarrel about Origen, in which plainly he shew'd no Distinction or Reverence to his Character. And Animosities so Inflamed might make an hot Man bear up to what looks like Extreme. And if Evagrius were one of those Presbyters, so contemned by this Deacon, he being St. Hierom's Acquaintance, might be hereby Animated, and Furnished with Arguments to Damp this Insolence of the Deacon, and the Tyranny of the Bishop, R 4

Bishop, that Cocker'd him. Plain it is, that the Ulage of Deacons at Rome. and under the Countenance of that Great Bishop, had been alledged as Authority in the Bishop, to allow some preference to such Deacons, at least as he should Distinguish; particularly, that at Rome Presbyters were Ordained on the Testimony of Deacons, which Irregularity, being peculiar to to that Place, and differing from the Practice of all the World beside, and all other Bishops, he rejects as Unauthoritative and unexemplary. on this account only can that Expostulation and its pertinency be Understood, which he brings in Unseasonably before the Mention of this Custom, like a Man in Heat and Hast. For as foon as he had Ended his Account of the Alexandrian Custom, he breaks out thus; ' Neither is the Church of Rome to to be Esteemed a Church diflind from that of the whole World, " Gaul, and Britain, Africa, and Perfia, the East, and India, and all the Barbarous Nations adore

Barbarous Nations adore Orders of the one Christ, observe one Clergy, as well Rule of Truth. * If you as other Paints.

demand Authority, the World

World is greater than a City. Wherefoever there shall be a Bishop, at Rome, or Engubium, whether whether at Constantinople, or Rhegium, whether at Alexandria, or Thanis, they are of the same Merit, ' and of the same Priest-+ And there-' Hood, i the Power of fore not to depress Presbyters ' Riches, and the Mean-(that are Priefts too) under Dea- ' ness of Poverty does not make a Bishop Sublimer or Inferior, but they are all Suc-' cessors of the Apostles. But thou fay'st, (that is askest) 'How are ' Presbyters Ordain'd at Rome, by the Testimony of a Deacon? Why doest ' thou alledge the Custom of one ' City? Why doest thou affert Pau-'city, [of the Deacons] whence 'their Pride arose Perhaps ' gainst the Laws of the the 18th Can. of the Nicene ' Church? | Paucity has Council. made the Deacons Hono-' rable, and Multitude has made Presby-' ters Contemptible. However in the 'Church of Rome Presbyters sit, and the ' Deacons stand, altho' Corruptions increafing by little and little, I have feen a Deacon to fit among Presbyters in the Absence of the Bishop.

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From whence 'tis plain, that this disorder of the Deacons being imputable to their Bishops, no wonder if he carried the Value of the Presbyterate to the very Highest, and to fuch Extremes of Expression that cou'd not be Born with, had he not qualified them with other abating Notions, such as that all Bishops are Equal, as being Equally the Successors of the Apostles, and to have the same Station in the Orders of the Church as Aaron had in the Orders of the Temple, the Power of Ordination being reserved to Bishops alone. From whence we may argue, that St. Hierom does not deny the Episcopal Consecration of the Bishops of Alexandria, consequent to the Election, Advancement, and Nomination of the Presbyters, or if he does, he confutes himself. For first, may we not retort his own Question to him, Quid mibi profers unius urbis Consuetudinem? Why doest thou alledge the custom of one City? Beside, if all Bishops be Successors of the Apostles in their Episcopal Authority, how can Presbyters bring them into that Succession? Or if they had pretended

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to it contrary to the Rule of all o-ther Churches, cou'd it not be said, that the Church of Alexandria not to be esteem'd a Church Distinct from the whole World, which (in this Point of Consecrating Bishops Elected by their Churches) do hold one Rule of Truth. Cou'd it not be charged on him, that the High-Priest of the Temple, was not made so by the other Priests, but was their chief by a Superior, nay, Divine Constitution? But of this I may say more, when I have done with the Rest of this Epistle. For in other Proofs. which he produces from the Scriptures, for the Indentity of Bishops and Presbyters, 'tis plain he does not place an Equality of Degree or Power in all Persons Invested with the Priesthood, in which he places the Indentity. For when he quotes St. Peter, 1 Ep. 5 Ch. 1st verse, calling himself a Compresbyter of those Presbyters, to whom he Wrote, tho' he places them in the same Order of Priesthood or Presbyterate, in common, yet he could not Level the Apostle in all Powers and Degrees to every Presbyter whatfoever. And when

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when he gives this reason why St. Paul, in his Rules to Timothy, for the Ordination of Bishops and Deacons, omits Presbyters, viz. Quod in Episcopo & Presbyter continetur, he supposes a distinct Eminency of the Bishop, above a meer Presbyter, in the same Common Order, of Priesthood, and the more Eminent therefore to Comprehend the Inferior in the same common Order, and which Episcopal Eminence he places in the Power of Ordination, in the same manner as St. Chrysoftom also did. And if here it be Objected, that in his Commentary on Tit. c. 1. v. 7. he says, that 'before one said he was of Paul, another of Apollos, and another of Cephas, the Churches ' were governed by the Common · Counsel of Presbyters, but after a very one took those, whom he ' had Baptized, for his own, and onot Christ's, it was Decreed in the whole World, that one of the Presbyters shou'd be set over the rest, to whom all the care of the Church hou'd belong, that the Seeds of Schisms might be taken away, and that Bishops therefore are greater than Presbyters,

· Presbyters, rather by Ecclefiastical Custom than Divine Disposition. must Answer, that 'tis not only meer Visionary Fancy all over, but contra-dicted by that passage in this Letter to Evagrius, wherein he says, that St. Paul, in giving Timothy Rules for Ordaining Bishops, does also include Presbyters under them, and so plainly afferts the Ordination of Bishops to be of Divine Apostolical Institution and not meer Custom, tho' after those Schisms at Corinth, for Paul, Apollos, and Cephas. And he that used in his Commentary this filly pretence, on purpose to Engage Bishops to Rule the Church in Common with Presbyters, might have engaged them hereto by feveral Examples in the Scriptures, without Suggesting any Thing against their Divine Right in the Episcopapacy. He therefore, that can be excufed in his Letter to Evagrius, can hardly be fo in this Commentary, but is convicted herein by Infinite other Places, where he looks upon their Prelatical Authority to be Apostolical according to the Sense of the Church Catholick; with which while Learned Men joyn, all is well; but if their Learning,

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Learning, or Humours Prompt them to New and Singular Notions, they are of no Authority, and must suffer loss of value by too much Affectation of it.

'Tis therefore easily Credible, that Custom at Alexandria, even from the Days of St. Mark, or Anianus, to Heraclas, might be to Choose and Name one of their own Colledge to be Bishop. But what grounds there can be to believe such Bishop had no consequent Episcopal Consecration comes next to be Examin'd. And, First, here is nothing positive to the contrary in St. Hierom, nor clearly Deducible from his Silence, and Transient Account herein. But Entichins having tendred us a Tradion, that Demetrius was the first Bishop of Alexandria, that Ordained any Bishops in the Province of Egypt, then till that time there being no Bishops in Egypt, the Bishop of Alexandria cou'd have no Bishop to Consecrate him after his Election out of the Colledge. But, First, this is not a necessary Consequence; for he might be sent to Antioch, and the Syrian, or to Jerusalem, and the Palestine Bishops,

shops, or elsewhere, or some might be sent from thence to Alexandria. to perform that Office. But besides the Learned Observe, that Clemens Alexandrinus, who was before Demetrius's Episcopate, and Origen, that Lived and Suffered under it, do own three distinct Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, of Divine Constitution, which they must do in Respect of Alexandria, and Egypt, as well as of other Countries. Moreover, Eutychius himself Confesses, that Anianus or Ananias was made Bishop by St. Mark, and so does not seem to agree with St. Ferome, that this Custom of Presbyters begun immediately after St. Mark, for that St. Mark, together with the Bishop Ananias constituted Twelve Presbyters, to be with the Bishop. And the Old Author of the Life of Mark says, he Ordained Anizanus Bishop, three Presbyters, and and Seven Deacons. In the Seventh Book of the Apostolical Constitutions Cap. 48, Anianus was Ordain'd first Bishop by St. Mark, and Abiling the next by St. Luke. To him Cerdon fucceeded, to whose Ordination, as to others after him, and before Demetrius,

trius, Bishops came out of that Country, as Severus, who wrote in Arabick the Lives of the Alexandrian Patriarchs, delivers in Abraham Ecchellensis, against Selden. Pears. Vind. Epift. S. Ign. Par. I. Ch. XI. 'Tis also obferved by all Learned Men, that there were Bishops and Presbyters in Egypt, in Adrian's Time, because he expresly mentions them in his Letter to Servianus the Conful, preserved by Phlegon, his freed Servant, and and transcribed by Flavius Vopiscus, and Extant in his Life of Saturninus, which the said great Bishop Pearfon, reckons to have been Written about 60 Years before Demetrius was Bishop. I have therefore thought it fit to reckon up the Chronology of the Alexandrian Succession, down to Adrian's Reign; that fo we may fee the utter Improbability from History, that the Bishops of Alexandria were Constituted by mere Presbyters, for want of other Bishops in Egypt. Anianus then first succeeded St. Mark, in the 8th Year of Nero, Enf. Eccl. Hift. 1. 2. c. 24. Being Ordain'd by St. Mark, according to Entichins. After 22 Years in that See Anianus Dying, Abilius

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Abilius succeeds in the 4th Year of Domitian, Eus. E. H. 1. 3. c. 13. Ordain'd by St. Luke, by the Tradition in the Apostolical Constitutions. After 13 Years of Abilius, Cerdon succeeds, in the 1st of Trajan, 2d of Nerva and 17th of Domitian, Euf. E. H. l. 3. c. 21. Ordained by feveral Bishops that come thither out of that Country, according to Severus. Cerdon Dying in the 12th of Trajant. Primus succeeded in that Chair; Euf. E. H. l. 4. c. I. And after Cerdon, the same Severus Reports his Tradition that all the fuccessors were so Ordained by the Bishops of Egypt; and Primus Dying in the Twelsth Year of his Prelacy, about the 3d of Adrian, Justus succeeded, Eus. E. H. I. 4. c. 4. And it being Notorious to Adrian, that Egypt had many Bishops as well as Presbyters Seated there [long enough] before his time, as well as their Chief, at Alexandria; the Alexandrian cou'd not want focial Bishops to Consecrate him.

Between St. Mark, and Adrian, there were but Four Successions, of which one was Ordained by St. Mark,

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the next is faid fo to be of St. Luke. and the Third and Fourth by the Bishops of Egypt, taking up in all from St. Mark's Death, in the 8th of Nero, but 59 Years, allowing only for the Times of Inter-Vacancy. So that as St. Hierom's Tradition for the Nomination of a Bishop, by the Presbyters reaching from St. Mark, feems contradicted by Eutychius, who derives it only from Anianus; fo Eutychius's Tradition, that runs from Anianus down to Alexander, in Constantine's Days, is contradicted by St Hierom's which goes down no further than Heralas, or Diony sius, almost an Hundred Years short of Alexander; till which times 'tis hardly Imaginable, that these great Bishops shou'd never be Ordain'd at all (as is uncertainly at best Concluded by fome from St. Hierom) or by Presbyters (as feems Afferted by the poor Ignorant Eutychius) for the Reasons above given.

The great and wonderful Pearson, after several Demonstrations by History of the Falsity of this Demetrian Fable, opposes thereto the Tradition of the Greeks, and other Arabians, that feems to

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have gone down Uniformly ad feros Nepotes, that St. Mark Constituted. and Confirmed Churches thro' Libya, Marmarica, Ammoniaca, Pentapolis, Alexandria, and the Places called Bucolica, and did not only Ordain Anianus Bishop of Alexandria, but far and wide in other Churches he gave Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and after he had so done Returned again to Alexandria. Vind. Epist. Ing. Par. I. C. XI. Which, having been Afferted by so many as a Tradition, looks more Credible than an Unlikely Story of one Ignorant Eutychius, and the rather, because it agrees with the design of the Apostles in their first Plantation of Churches, in which they fix'd one Bishop for a whole Country, and Ordered them to Ordain Bishops, and other Ministers in every City of the Region, which the Apostles Commited to them, as to Timothy in the Province of Ephefus, and to Titus in the Isle of Crete; and is it not as likely that by this better Tradition St. Mark, being fent by St. Peter to Alexandria, should from that Metropolis go abroad into all the Subject Regions, and Cities, and Ordain Bishops and Clergy among them; Is it likely he should fit down all his time just at Alexandria, and not be concern'd for the dependent Regions, as Timothy and Titus were by St. Paul's Ordinance, confidering that the greatest City and Province (Rome only excepted) was Committed to him, much greater and diffusive than those of Timothy and Titus; These are therefore Credible Originals of the Church of Alexandria, because they agree with the Apostolical Polity and Originals of other Churches (less than this) Recorded the Scripture. Had Demetrius himself been but in Order a Presbyter, submitted to only by his Brethren, the Presbyters in the other Cities of Egypt, where he is Fabled to have Ordain'd three Bishops only, wou'd have follow'd the Alexandrian Forms, and have made their own Bishops without him, and that without the Form of Ordination, if (as some gather from St. Hierom) there was none at Alexandria, or by their own Ordination, if (as Eutychius, fays) the Alexandrian Presbyters Ordained their Billiop

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Bishop by imposition of their Hands. Nay, had either of these been at any Times the Alexandrian Forms. widely different from all the Forms of all Churches beside, they must have been, as Notorious, so very full of Scandal, whereas it does not appear, that the Church ever had any notice of it. Eusebius, that reckons up the Succession of this See, and who himfelf was Ordain'd, first Presbyter, after Bishop in Palastine (a and Country divided from Alexandria, only by the Red-Sea) Observes no Distinction in the Alexandrian Forms of Succession; nor did any Bishops any where take Offence at the Singularity, which they must needs have done. In Pope Victor's Time the whole Church was moved at the Asiatick way of Celebrating Easter, on the Quartadeciman, like the Jews; tho' their Practice was Traditional from St. John, whose last Abode was in their Metropolis at Ephefus. In the next Age the business of Rebaptization caused an Universal Commotion thro' all the Churches of the Empire, and fo did the Ordination of Novati-

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an at Rome, Falicissimus and Majorinus, to the See of Carthage, all of them matters much less than this supposed Alexandrian Defect and Difference in a most Fundamental Point of Apostolical Succession; and yet we find no Exceptions taken against their Frame, nor the least mention of it; While yet had great Controversies Demetrius with the Palastine Bishops, for their Admission of Origen (being a Layman) to Preach in Churches, whereas had his Title been but Presbyterian, Origen, and those Bishops, and all the whole Church of God every where elfe, that look'd on the Episcopal Character Divine, and given by the Confecration only of other Bishops, and the same generally Comprovincial or Conterminous, would have challenged him for an Obtruder, and no Bishop, as the same Alexandrians did Ischyras for no Presbyter, for want of Ordinanation by a Bishop, which Colluthus, was not. And the Conclusion is easy, if Colluthus, or any Presbyter cannot Ordain a Presbyter, much less can Presbyters make Bishops, either with or without Ordination. And in the **Ecclesiastical**

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Ecclefiaftical Polity fuch Conftitution of Bishops by meer Presbyters, is Inconfiftent with the Nature of it, as it is without Instance, and Contrary to the Fundamental Principles herein received; for Christ being the King of his Church, he, as he first of all Ordained his Apostles, Elders, Priests, and Bishops, and the LXX Elders; so that Power of Ordaining being the greatest that can be Perpetual and Communicable, must be derived from him to the Supremest Order under him, and not from Inferior Offices. When an Army Chooses an Emperour, the Imperial Throne must be just before Vacant, otherwise, when 'tis full, the Emperour, by himself, or Deputies, Chooses, and Commissions all subordinate Powers, and it cannot be regularly otherwise; since therefore Christ's Throne is not Vacant, none but he, and fuch as he, (by an extraordinary Call, or an Ordinary Rule) has Impowered, can continue the Succession by Acts of Ordination in his Name, which Power as meer Presbyters never had in the Creating Presbyters, or Minor Orders, much less have they

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in making Bishops, and in them continuing the Apostolical Succession; Especially since the Supremest Authority in the Church, being Spiritual, must be of Divine and Spiritual Efficacy in all its Acts and Operations on the Souls of their Subjects, as well Clergy as Laity; and so cannot be a Contrivance of Man, but the Institution of God. All this, and much more, must have been Objected against fuch a practice in that Church, which wou'd have Cut these Presbyter Prelates off from the Episcopal Commerce till it had been Reformed. On the other side, if this Usage had been without Offence or Scandal down to Heraclas, and Dionysius, there could be no Reason for such a Change then, nor any Authority to make it. For tho' Bishops did sometimes offer to leave their Bishopricks, as it were a Legacy to Successors, by them Named on or near their Death-Beds in other Sees, and the Churches did sometimes Acquiesce in it, yet were they not bound fo to do, and to avoid Prejudice herein, Canons, were made against it. But on such a Bottom as the the Alexandrian Succession is pretendto be Founded on, it cou'd not possibly be fo done here; and fo no Bi-Thop alone cou'd change this Presbyterian Constitution. Nor can it be easily supposed, that they wou'd change it themselves, that others shou'd be brought in Over them, without their Choice, and fuch as were not of that Presbytery. Or could this be supposed Possible, yet it cou'd not have past without great Noise and Disturbance, Beginning there, and Flying from thence, almost over all the Churches of the Empire, and which therefore must have been taken Notice of by Eusebius, and other Historians, of which however there is not the least Syllable; tho' Eusebius carefully Déduces that Succession down to his own Time, and was Born within half an Age of Dionysius, and Flourished in the next Country to Agypt all his Days. So that this Tradition you have alledged from Selden, Blondel, Salmasius, and Dallee, against our Episcopal Constitution, proves not only Obscure, and Uncertain, but Incredible also. t. 31. 1. 5.

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Dem. I can't fee but that those of our Church, who refuse all Communion with other Reformed Churches, are upon their own Principles Guilty of Schism; because they Affirm that Churches, tho' Erroneous, if they Impose not things Unlawful, have a Right to Catholick Communion. And this I suppose they Build on the Practice of the Apostles, equally Communicating with Unbelieving as Believing Jews and Gentiles, each of which must be different Communions; and fo St. Paul, that was an Occasional Conformist, blames St. Peter for being otherwife. Ch. IX. §. 40. P. 344.

have a Right to Catholick Communion, and all the Members of them. But they'll fay you must not call those Churches that are not so, or (which is the same thing) can't be Prov'd to be so by the Catholick Rule. But if this our Doctrine, so Objected to them, was Grounded on that pretended Practice of St. Paul, then he Communicated Chi dol Ter Tal dee on, to Go

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municated with Heathens as with Churches, and confequently Christ's Churches, and did partake of their Idol Sacrifices, and Tables, in their Temples, as well as of the Lord's Table, and Supper. And this was indeed admirable Catholick Communion, whereas all that the Apostles had to do with Insidels was to Publish the Golpel to 'em, and by Faith thereof to bring them into Christ's Church; so that this was a Communication with them as not yet Churches.

Indeleble Character in the Hierarchical Orders, is Trump'd up to maintain their Succession, nothing can be more Senseles; for how can it Consist with the Notion and Practice of Degradation? How can they be Degraded, if their Order continue? Ch. IX. §. 49. P. 352, 353.

Diet. Just as the Indeleble Character of Baptism, with Apostates, Hereticks, &c. under Ecclesiastical Anathema, who are not actually in a Christian

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Christian State, yet Reconcilable thereto, without Rebaptization, because of the Indeleble Permanency of that Characteristick Impression. So meer Degradation is a Deposing the Degraded from the State of their Order, Restorable by a Reverse of that Sentence, to their State and Order, without Reordination. And 'tis fit it shou'd be fo. For fince fuch Sentence, tho' in Form Valid, yet may be Unjust, when that Injustice is Judicially Difcover'd, the Cenfured Person ought to be set Right without Reordination, which yet cou'd not be, if Degradation utterly Effaces the Character of his Ordination, which therefore alone can only Reduce him to a Lay-State and Communion, but not totally Obliterate the Signatures of Imposition of Hands. But that which I find you aim at is, that whereas many have in the Breaches of Succession at Rome it self, and much more elsewhere, been Ordain'd by Schismaticks, in Schisms, fometimes of very long Continuance, there so many Links of the Chain being Broken, and wrong ones Introduced by Schismatical Ordinations all fuch

fuch are Nullities, and then no Body, or few being able to tell which is the Right Line, their Orders and Sacraments are of no certain Validity among any of 'em, and among fome of none at all; And so all their Ecclesiastical Interest is Destroy'd, without knowing how to Recover it. Now in Answer hereto, we are to Distinguish Nullities, such as are so quoad formam, and others only quoad effectim juris. Now such pretended Acts of Ordination, that are Defective in any Essentials of that Power by Divine Rules, are Formally, Legally, and Totally Null, respectu juris divini, ad omnem juris effectum, but such Acts Ecclesiastical, as are not so Essentially Vitious, but only made Null by Canon, are made and reputed fo only ad omnem juris Effectum; As appears in the Donatists Ordination of Majorinus to the See of Carthage, when filled with Cecilian, and other Anti-Bishops after the Secundus by the Catholick Canons was Nullus ad omnem juris effectum, but not as to the Signature of the Character, fince on Terms of Peace the Catholicks Offered to admitt them into the

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the Succession of the contested Sees, when Vacant without Reordination. And hereby the Objections from the Papal, and other Episcopal Schisms, Competions, and Wickedness, are easily and fairly Discharged, that the Ordination of Schismatical and wicked Popes, &c. contrary to the Form of Canon, was thereby made Void, quod omnem juris effectum, but by Episcopal Dispensation with the Canon (which must always be Referved to Cafes of Neceffity or Extremity) they may be made Regular and Ratified without Reordination. And this the Succession may, and ever will be Secured and Continued, notwithstanding such incidental Diforders and Competitions for Sees, which yet however, having not in fact hapned in this Island, does not concern us, nor call in Question the due Regularity of our Succesfion.

Right of wholly making their own Ministers, we no more Read in Scripture of two distinct Acts, as Election of the Church, and Ordination by the Clergy,

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Clergy, for making of Elders, than we Read of two forts of them, but only of the Apostles constituting of Elders by the Suffrages of the People; the Greek Word reproviousles by E-rasmus, Beza, Diodati, the French, Italian, Belgick, and even English Bibles so fignifing, till our Episcopal Correction, which leaves out this E-lection, &c. Ch. IX. §. 52. P. 358, 359.

Dier. We do not Read in Truth of any Election of Elders made by the People, when they were Ordained in every Church but the reienvornouvles were the Apostles; they were the Electors. For zereovovéw, in the Tropical Sense of Choosing, signifies not to Choose by the Extension of another Man's Hand but his own; or not to Ordain any person to an Office on another Man's perconvia, or Election, (as this Forced Construction designs) but whatsoever the Act in Form of Vertue was, it is folely Attributed to the Apostles. But admitting the People's consent necessary, (which yet is not Absolutely so) does it hence follow, that that no Apostolical or Episcopal Ordination, consequent thereupon, was necessary to Consummate the Ordination? This is the Point, and none of your Quotations have any pretended Shadow to the contrary, and were therefore alleged only to Amuse, and Cheat the Unlearned and Credulous Disciples of Deism.

How, for God's Sake, comes a Bishop's Power of Ordination to be more Indelebe, than the share of Legislation, or Jurisdiction he Claims, if they are alike of Divine Original? Ch. IX. §. 55. P. 364.

Legislation, and Jurisdiction, are all equally Divine, but the actual Exercise of those Powers requires proper Subjects, Rules, Limits, and Orders to avoid Confusion.

Divines usually Distinguish between a Right to an Office, and a Right to Execute an Office, which I have proved a Bull with a Vengeance. Ch. IX. §. 55. P. 364.

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Dier. How some may loosely Express their Meaning, or how infidiously you may make Expressions for 'em, I can't tell; but this I know to be a Good and Just Distinction, which is commonly made, between a Power or Faculty in General and a Right (i. e. law-ful Liberty) of a particular Ex-ercise thereof in such or such Place, or Right. Thus Titus had all his General Powers before St. Paul fix'd him in Crete for the Exercise of them. Nay, the Apostles had all their Powers, Undetermined to any Place, before they Executed them, or Fix'd themselves any where for the Execution of them, as is plain in St. James, the the first Bishop of Jerusalem, if he was indeed the Apostle, as 'tis most likely he was. So a' Graduate in Physick or Laws, has his general Faculty, and yet may by Constitution, or his own Act, be Restrain'd to particular Places for the Actual Exercise thereof, for the good Order and Benefit of the

that no Apostolical or Episcopal Ordination, consequent thereupon, was necessary to Consummate the Ordination? This is the Point, and none of your Quotations have any pretended Shadow to the contrary, and were therefore alleged only to Amuse, and Cheat the Unlearned and Credulous Disciples of Deism.

How, for God's Sake, comes a Bishop's Power of Ordination to be more Indelebe, than the share of Legislation, or Jurisdiction he Claims, if they are alike of Divine Original? Ch. IX. §. 55. P. 364.

Legislation, and Jurisdiction, are all equally Divine, but the actual Exercise of those Powers requires proper Subjects, Rules, Limits, and Orders to avoid Confusion.

Divines usually Distinguish between a Right to an Office, and a Right to Execute an Office, which I have proved a Bull with a Vengeance. Ch. IX. §. 55. P. 364.

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Dier. How some may loosely Express their Meaning, or how infidiously you may make Expressions for 'em, I can't tell; but this I know to be a Good and Just Distinction, which is commonly made, between a Power or Faculty in General and a Right (i. e. lawful Liberty) of a particular Ex-ercise thereof in such or such Place, or Right. Thus Titus had all his General Powers before St. Paul fix'd him in Crete for the Exercise of them. Nay, the Apostles had all their Powers, Undetermined to any Place, before they Executed them, or Fix'd themselves any where for the Execution of them, as is plain in St. James, the the first Bishop of Jerusalem, if he was indeed the Apostle, as 'tis most likely he was. So a Graduate in Physick or Laws, has his general Faculty, and yet may by Constitution, or his own Act, be Restrain'd to particular Places for the Actual Exercise thereof, for the good Order and Benefit of the

the whole Faculty, and the benest of such particular Places where
they are Seated. So 'tis in all
under-Military Offices, and so 'tis,
or may be in all Trades acquired by
Indentures of Apprentiship; and
so in all Missionaries, into Barbarous Nations, with the greatest
Reason Unimpeachable of Absurdity, which you catch at by aRidiculous Representation of our
Sense into Nonsense.

Dem. Mr. Dodwell owns that such Violences on the Ecclesiastical Government, may sometimes make a Breach in the due Succession, and Affect the direct Conveyances of that Authority from God, which is requisite to the giving a Title to those Spiritual Benefits to Souls, which are the great design of Ecclesiastical Communion. Doctr. of the Church of Eng. concerning the Indep. of Clerg. S. 33. And I would direct you to the Case of the Regale, &c. Edit. 1. P. 77. In my 58th Section of this Chapter, had you not before prevented this

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this part of the Objection. Ch. IX. S. 57. P. 366.

Dier. Mr. Dodmell proceeds not meerly on the Notion of an Ordinal, but Local Succession, which. tho' highly Expedient to the Souls of the People, that it shou'd be always cearly Regular, yet is not effentially Necessary to the Benefit of Souls, to be altogether Destitute of Benefit, under a Local Irregularity herein. For to the Validity of Ecclefiastical Ordinances to the Souls of the People, not Conscious to themselves of the Guilt of Schism, a Regular Succession of meer Order, by Episcopal Ordination is sufficient to Convey the Bleffings of Grace, tho' by Ecclesiastical Canon, the Intruders Title to fuch Place is Void, and he Guilty of great Sin in the Intrusion. For if one Clergy-Man by Fraud, or Surreption, Ministers the Sacraments in another Man's Church, tho' that Presumption in the Minister be in great part Schismatical, yet the MinistraMinistration is not a meer Nullity. on the Innocent Receivers, but as Valid as from the proper Incumbent. The same must be said in all the Acts of Anti-Popes, and Anti-Bishops, and Clergy Ordained by Men, to Irregularly getting in, others Bishopricks, to which Mr. Dodwell's own last Notions also do agree tho' in these also he is not very Happy. 'Tis not therefore Regular Succession of Place but the Essential Forms of Episcopal Order, successively and effectually Continued, that is ordinarily Necessary by the Rule to the Spiritual Operations and Effects of their Offices, with the Souls of the People, which, as it can never be Destroy'd, so cannot become Dubious, as being publickly Done, Registred, and Certified for the Affurance of all Persons, and so quod fieri non debuit, factum valebit by vertue of the Divine Constitution. But as to other Canonical Acts and Offices, not instituted by God, nor conveying Internal Grace, but instituted by Canons only,

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ly, for External Order, such Acts of an Intruder may be Nulled, either in whole, or in part, or Confirmed by the Supreme Eccle-staffical Authority herein (to which all Humane Canons are Subject) according as it shall thereto seem Expedient to the Exteriour Wellfare of the Church.

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dinactly Nesclary by the Rule to the Soliter of the Solite to the Solite to the Solite of their Offices with the Solite of

by God, not conveying justinal

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CHAP. X. Discuss'd.

That the Catholick Church consists of several Bodies independent on each other, and that none of these have Power to make Clergy-Men, except for them-selves, and that the contrary Opinion necessarily supposes an Universal Bishop, or Pope.

this last great Point of yours, against which 'tis Obvious to Observe, that as no Temporal Power in one Countrey, can give a Civil Office beyond his own Bounds, so there is the same Reason in Ecclesiastical, so that he

he, that is Excommunicated in one NATIONAL* CHURCH

* This word is put in for a Fallacy, as if the Catholick Union depended on National (i. e. civil) Establishment and then indeed his Point wou'd be gain'd † Nation put for Church.

is no more so in any other, than he that is Outlaw'd in one Countrey, is so in another. So a Bishop, and a Priest in one NATI-ON † is but a Layman in another, where,

if his Acts be Valid without any new Ordination, Consecration, &c. 'tis upon meer consent of the People. Ch. X. S. 2, 3. P. 379.

Hier. But there is no more the fame natural reason herein, than there is the fame form and reason in the Constitution of Regal and Hierarchical Powers. For the Unity of Religion, and the Right of Sacred Union and Society in it, are not confined, or confinable to one Nation, or Empire, as Civil Powers are. These are Universal and Unlimited Principles. So that they that are of one and the same Religion, are thereby ipso facto of one and the same religious T 4 Body,

Body, and Society all over the World; and are mutually Treated as fuch wherever they come. Consequently, whatsoever Religious Order a Man is of at Home, of the same he is, and will be own'd to be all over the World upon Regular Credentials. Thus Chryses was own'd as Apollo's Priest, and that with great Reverence in the Camp of the Greeks his Enemies, as at his own Home. So also it ever was with Jewish Priests and Doctors, in all their Dispersions, as well as in Judea, tho yet the Priests cou'd not le-gally Sacrifice any where but at Jerusalem, and each there in the Order of their Course; And the Doctors can't Usurp each others Synagogues, nor Officiate in them but as Rabbi's qualified, and by leave from the Rulers of their Synagogues; and herein confifts their vilible and general Unity of Religion. Much more then they, that are Christ's People, Priests and Doctors, must be such through out the whole Catholick Body.

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was placed by God in the Apostles and their Successors, then, since each of them singly cou'd not Govern the whole Church, each must have a part only, or all must be so joyn'd as to make one only Government, or all be subject to one Pope. Ch. X. S. 4. P. 380, 381.

Dier. As every Apostle and Bishop, had and has a general Power and Principle of Government given him in his Confectation, fo Man's Natural Faculties being Finite and Confusion contrary to the Nature of Government, every one, that actually Governs, must Govern a particular and limited Society, and if he be fix'd in a fettled Title to Govern that Society, either by the Right of Conversion, Choice, or Affignation, no other can Invade that his Sracred Property; and thus it must be Distributed, because it is impossible that all the Apostles and Bishops of the World shou'd

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fhou'd sit in one Place as a Sovereign Council, and do all their other Offices, for which they were from the beginning dispersed among all Nations.

Dem. Say you so! Then every Bishop must be Supreme in his own Diocese under God, and consequently not liable to the smallest Spiritual Censure of all the Bishops in the World. Cb. X. S. 5. P. 381.

Dier. Well, and what then! Why then, I'le warrant ye, all Synodical Censures on fingle Bishops are altogether Null, or otherwise destroy your Pretension. No, no! For in the very Nature of Things as every Bishop is de jure a Colleague of the whole Episcopal Colledge, and as fuch to reciprocate Commerce, as occasion shall require, and so to enter into particular Fraternal Societies, in order thereunto, Consociated, and to be Assembled for the Common Interest of their thus United Churches

Churches, so for the good and regular Conduct of this Polity, to subject each one himself to certain Rules, and Censures, for Violation of them; and as they thus Form their Polity, fo the Validity of their Censures stands upon fuch Contract, by which they that before were subject to no Superior Order, subject themselves feverally to a Body of Equals. Beside, Single separate Equals, either Persons, or Societies may not only in fact, but even in Right punish each other, where there is no common Superior. And upon this Right, Equal Bishops and Synods have sometimes done so to their Equals, upon Just and Valid Causes, by Renouncing an angivornoia all Social Communication in Matters Ecclefiastical, which, tho, alone, it does not totally Exauctorate the Cenfured, nor Unchurch their Churches, yet is a very grievous Stain and Punishment, at which all Churches are to take Alarm, and Heal the Breach (if possible) by Social Interpolition, or Renounce

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nounce the Refractary. Thus the Church subsisted on this Foundation for the first Three Centuries, without General Councils, or a Papal Monarch, and so therefore may and ought to Subsist for Ever.

Dem. None can have a Right to Dispose of the Ecclesiastical Powers of a Deceased Bishop, except he or they to whom it Devolves; and since it cannot Devolve to any set Number of Bishops, it must be either to the People, or a Pope, Chap. X. S. 12. Pag. 388, 389.

Preface, you make the King the Devolve of all our Deceased Bishops Powers, whose Royal Acts hereupon suppose all Spiritual Power vested in the King, which will seclude both Pope and People; and therefore twill concern you to Heal up this Breach between you and your self, before we need be concern'd. But however I love to be

be Frank, and not to be upon the Catch; And therefore in short Answer tell you, that the Power of a Deceased Bishop Dyes with him, and Devolves to no Body. And therefore the conterminous Bishops, at the request or consent of the Widowed Clergy and People may supply them with a Successor. And this any Bishops, more or less, may do without any Pope, and they, that do it, have silled the See, and precluded all other Bishops, even the Pope himself, from any Authority afterward herein.

mark shall be, that Popery is a a Fundamental in your Catholick Faith, fince you have inserted into the Creed, commonly called the Apostles, this Article, I Believe the Catholick Church, that is all her Doctrines. Ch. X. S. 26. P. 402.

Her. This Article Denotes, that from the Beginning there was, is, and will be a Church of Christ, Collected

Collected not only out of Jews, but all other Nations, in the Faith and Unity of which Church, Founded by Christ in Principles, once delivered to the Saints, we are to Prosecute and Hope for Salvation. And more than this is not Confessed or Intended, and consequently does not imply a Catholick Power any where, to Determine or Establish upon Men's Belief any Opinions, that are not of Primitive Revelation, and Original Principles of the Covenant of Grace.

And thus have I DONE, WHAT I CAN, to UNDECEIVE or SI-LENCE you in these UNHAPPY PRESUMPTIONS; may GOD AL-MIGHTY Open your HEART, that you may yet SEE the THINGS that BELONG to your PEACE; if they are not by an IRREVERSI-BLE SENTENCE in HEAVEN for ever SHUT from your EYES. Amen, Amen.

FINIS:

The READER is Desired to Correct the following Errors, which happened by the AUTHORS distance from the Press.

PAGE 3. Line 23. after and that dele, Pag. 4. 1. 3. for Acknowledgment r. Patience. Pag. 24. 1. 25. for Alls r. Arts. Pag. 51. 1. 13. r. the one. Ibid 1. 26. for thy r. they. Pag. 54. 1. 19. for burting r. trufting. Pag. 58. 1. 9. for the r. ill. Pag. 59. 1. 15. for divided r. derived. Ibid 1. 21: after for r. if. Pag. 75. l. 1. after force r. in. Pag. 93. 1. 26. for declarations r. declamations. Pag. 109. l. 14. after occurr r. now. Pag. 136. l. 25. for Civils r. Cavils. Pag. 137: l. 20. for impart r. import. Pag. 140. I. ult. after this r. in. Pag. 142. 1. 14. for Bara r. Beza. Ibid 1. 16. for Ahaisamach r. Ahisamach: Pag. 143. 1. 15. after that r. as. 1. 23. for flink r. flinks and dele , Pag. 148. Pag. 162. 1. 2. for temper t. tamper. 1. ult. for there r. their. Pag. 170. 1. ult. for in r. by. Pag. 187. 1. 12. for origanical r. organical: Pag. 190. 1. 25. for Supersticious r. Superstitious. Pag. 204. Pag. 218. 1. 6. for Casuits r. Casuist. Ibid 1. 16. for Strickness r. Strianes. 1. 5. for there r. their: 1. 7. for Investure r. Investiture. Pag. 231. Pag. 233. Ibid 1. 20. for Investure r. Investiture. Pag. 238. I. 14. after dain r. And.

Pag. 245. l. 25. after Office dele, Pag. 251. l. 17. for Indentity r. Identity.

Pag. 270. 1. 15. for this r. thus.

BOOKS

BOOKS lately PRINTED for W. TAYLOR, at the Ship in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

THE Book of Common Prayer, and Adminifitration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Use of the Church of England, with the Psalms of David, Paraphrased. By William Nicholas, D. D. Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Montagu.

Gulielmi Nicholsii Presbiteri Desensio Ecclesia Anglicana in qua Vindicantur omnia qua ab Adversariis in Doctrina Cultu & Disciplina ejus improbantur Pramittitur Apparatui qui Historam Turbaram é secessione ab Ecclesia Anglicana exortarum

continet.

The Unworthy Non-Communicant. A Treatise shewing the Danger of Neglecting the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; Wherein its Primitive Practice, and the Reason of its Disuse and Neglect are fully set forth. What are meant by Eating and Drinking Unworthily, and Eating and Drinking our own Damnation, are made plain to the meanest Capacity; all the most material Scruples and Objections commonly urged are fully answered: Together, with Forms of Prayer Before, At, and after the Receiving the Holy Sacrament. (The Fourth Edition, with Addition.) By William Smythies, late Morning Lecturer at St. Michael's-Cornhil, London.

An Antidote against the Pernicious Errors of the Anabaptists, or of the Dipping-Sect: Wherein the Doctrine and Practices of the Church of England, in Relation to Infants Baptism, are briefly Justified and Confirmed by Holy Scripture and Reason, by the Approved Custom of Christians in all Ages since the Apostles, and by the Judgment of all the Reformed Churches of Europe; and wherein all Objections against it are fully Answered, &c. By

Marius D'Affigny, B. D.

